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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN
THE UNITED STATES—PART 7
(CHICAGO, ILL., AREA)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

MARCH 26 AND 27, 1957

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee, and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States—Part 7, Chicago, Ill., Area

In a continuation of its hearings on the Communist-dominated foreign-language press in the United States, the Committee on Un-American Activities in Chicago on Tuesday, March 26, 1957, heard nine witnesses associated with foreign-language newspapers in the Chicago, Detroit, and Superior, Wis., area. These witnesses, all of whom invoked the fifth amendment on all pertinent questions relating to Communist associations and Communist Party membership, were:

Nellie DeSchaaf, former English section editor and current contributor to Vilnis, Lithuanian daily, printed in Chicago.

Jacob Pauliukas, business manager of Vilnis.

Leon Pruseika, an editor of Vilnis.

Anthony Minerich, business manager of Narodni Glasnik, published in Chicago.

John Zuskar, publisher and editor of Ludova Noviny, published in Chicago.

George Wastila, editor of Tyomies-Eteenpain, Finnish daily published in Superior, Wis.

Wladislaw Kucharski, editor of Glos Ludowy, Polish paper published in Detroit.

Bocho Mircheff, managing editor of Narodna Volya, Bulgarian paper published in Detroit.

Nicholas Markoff, treasurer of Narodna Volya.

John Lautner, a former Communist Party educational director, identified Anthony Minerich, Bocho Mircheff, and George Wastila as members of the Communist Party.

The hearing in Chicago presented further proof that the Communist-dominated foreign-language press constitutes the most important propaganda pipeline to nationality groups in this country. The committee learned that Chicago is the headquarters for the largest of all the Communist papers, including the Daily Worker. This paper is the Lithuanian daily, Vilnis, with a circulation of 32,000 daily. All of its principal officers have been identified as Communists. Several of its former editors are subjects of deportation proceedings. The committee recommended that Jacob Pauliukas, business manager of Vilnis, be cited for contempt of Congress.

March 27th the committee also inquired into the dissemination of Communist propaganda in the Chicago, Ill., area. Two witnesses were heard in this phase. Both refused on the grounds of possible self-incrimination to answer any and all questions concerning their Communist Party association or their association with propaganda outlets for the Communist Party. The two witnesses were:

Otto Wangerin, operator of the Modern Book Store, "official" party outlet for the Chicago area, who took the fifth amendment when questioned concerning his Communist Party affiliations and the type of material disseminated by his bookstore.

John A. Rossen, who also took the fifth amendment when questioned about any Communist Party affiliations. In testimony, Mr. Rossen was identified as executive director of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the owner of the L. M. S. Amusement Co., Inc., which operates the Cinema Annex Theater in Chicago.

During the hearing, the committee received further clarification of the identification of Ray Sergo, who had been identified as a Communist Party member by Anzelm Czarnowski in an earlier hearing. The committee received, and incorporated in the record, an affidavit from Raymond M. Sergo, a schoolteacher of Lyons, Ill., which, together with additional testimony from Mr. Czarnowski, established that this Raymond M. Sergo was not the same person as the Ray Sergo, an industrial worker, named by Mr. Czarnowski.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 7 (Chicago, Ill., Area)

TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Chicago, Ill.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, in room 209, United States Courthouse, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., at 10 a. m., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; W. Jackson Jones and Frank Bonora, investigators.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please come to order.

I have a preliminary statement that I wish to read. It is customary so to do in these hearings.

In these hearings in Chicago with this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities beginning this morning, it is our purpose to obtain further information for legislative purposes about the extent, character, and objects of the Communist propaganda in the United States, including subversive activities of the Communist Party. This is our official duty and obligation under the express terms of Public Law 601, enacted by the United States Congress in 1946 during the 79th session thereof.

The primary purpose of our inquiry today and tomorrow, here in the Chicago area, is the extent to which the press is Communist dominated so far as foreign-language papers are concerned or the subversive conspiracy is implemented thereby. We expect to investigate today and tomorrow the extent to which this foreign-language press, which is printed in, or distributed from, the Chicago area, is the tool of the Communist subversive propaganda activity.

We recently made a very successful investigation on the same important subject in the New York City area. It is the Communist infiltration of the foreign-language press with which we will be concerned chiefly.

Evidence which the committee has already received in hearings in other cities on this same subject indicates clearly that the propaganda operations of the Communist Party in the United States among minority groups serve as one of the most powerful means and methods of subversion.

The activities of the Communist Party right here in the Chicago area take on a new significance in view of the recent announced decision of the Communist Party of the United States to transfer its headquarters nationally to Chicago.

The Communist Party and Communist front organizations which already exist here in this important industrial area are among the most virile and extensive in our entire beloved Nation.

Our examination of Communist propaganda publications is sure to prompt the cry from the Communists and the Communist-controlled fronts and Communist-controlled press that we are attempting to exert a censorship of the press. This is, of course, false and unfounded, and the Communists know that such an attack on this committee has no foundation in truth or in fact.

I want to make it clear that this committee has no intention of seeking censorship of newspapers, magazines, or books, or interfering in any way with the operation of genuine and free publications. But we are definitely instructed by the United States Congress and by Public Law 601 to investigate and report the extent and character of Communist subversive propaganda and activities wherever it rears its ugly head. The Communist publications are another matter. To the extent that any foreign-language newspaper that we are investigating today and tomorrow is controlled by Communist philosophy, it is not a free press. They are but the mouthpiece of a foreign ideology from a foreign source of a subversive conspiracy against the free press or against free speech in the United States.

The constitutional right to advocate change in an orderly manner is fundamental. We recognize it as such. But orderly change in our constitutional law, is not the subversive intent of the Communist Party in the United States. There are constitutional guaranties of free speech and free press, and thank God there are, but there are no constitutional guaranties protecting subversive, fraudulent propaganda designed to forcibly and violently overthrow our constitutional government or prohibiting the Government of the United States from dealing with it in the legal manner.

Indeed, there are already existing laws against such types of publications. It is apparent that these laws are frequently being violated and circumvented in many ways and that these laws need to be strengthened.

The committee subscribes wholeheartedly and vigorously to the premise that any American citizen has the established right to say and to write what he pleases and to present his grievance in a legitimate way to the representatives which he has democratically chosen to govern him. But, at the same time, the people of the United States and the Government of the people of the United States have a right and a duty to learn the identity of those who illegally and subversively abuse the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press in order to bring about subversive destruction of our constitutional form of government.

At this point I wish to incorporate in the record the authorization of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for this series of subcommittee hearings and the order by the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to wit, the Honorable Francis E. Walter, in which he appointed this subcommittee consisting of three

members; namely, the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Frazier, who is absent this morning; the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer, on my right; and myself, Clyde Doyle, of California, as subcommittee chairman.

(The documents referred to follow:)

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HELD ON JANUARY 22, 1957

A motion was made by Mr. Kearney, seconded by Mr. Willis, and unanimously carried approving and authorizing the holding of hearings in Chicago, Ill., beginning in March 1957, and the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, the subject of which hearings and the investigations in connection therewith to include, in general, all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee, and in particular Communist activities and influence in the field of foreign language publications.

TO THE CLERK OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

ORDER FOR APPOINTMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEE

Pursuant to the provisions of law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, consisting of Hon. Clyde Doyle, chairman, Hon. James B. Frazier, Jr., and Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, associate members, to hold hearings in Chicago, Ill., beginning on March 26, 1957, on all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee, and to take testimony on said day or any succeeding days, and at such times and places as it may deem necessary, until its work is completed.

The clerk of the committee is directed to immediately notify the appointees of their appointment and to file this order as an official committee record, in the order book kept for that purpose.

Given under my hand this 19th day of March 1957.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives.*

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to remind you visitors and spectators present that this committee is here on a work assignment and that you are visitors here through the courtesy of this committee. Therefore, we assume there will be no disturbance of any kind by any visitor in this room, neither of approval or disapproval of anything that is said.

I wish at this time to instruct the United States marshal, if any person in the room makes any disturbance of any kind, you will be expected to, and we will appreciate it if you will, immediately remove that person from the room and not allow him to return.

We believe it is a fair and reasonable request because we are here to work and not to be disturbed.

In addition, of course, you folks of Chicago realize that this hearing is being held in the courtroom of the district court of the United States of America, and one of the rules of this court is that there shall be no smoking in this room. We will expect that to be rigorously observed.

I wish to also observe that Mr. Scherer and I, who are here today, as the quorum of a subcommittee of three, are both lawyers and both practiced law for many years before we went to Congress. I say this for the benefit of any legal counsel who may appear with the

witness under the rules of this committee which were pronounced in 1953. I wish to read rule No. VII which relates to the appearance of counsel before this committee:

VII—ADVICE OF COUNSEL

A. At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B. The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

I know that counsel will recognize, as we do, that this committee is not a court, nor sitting as a court. The rules of evidence do not apply necessarily.

I shall expect the fullest cooperation of counsel as they appear with witnesses. We are always glad to have counsel present.

Now, as to photography: This committee never interferes with the freedom of the press when you desire to take photographs. Therefore, as far as this committee is concerned, you are at liberty to exercise the freedom of the American press to take all the pictures you want of the witnesses up until the time they are put under oath and when they are testifying. If they have requested that no pictures be taken, we know you will cooperate with us and not take any pictures of any witness after he is sworn and while he is testifying. But I wish to emphasize again that we never interfere with the freedom of the press to take pictures up until the time the witness is under oath.

Are you ready, Mr. Arens?

MR. ARENS. I have in my hand two doctors' certificates, one pertaining to Mr. Vincent Andrulis, who was under subpoena to appear today.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this doctor's certificate that was presented to me by the counsel for Vincent Andrulis be incorporated in the body of the record, and the subpoena be indefinitely postponed for Mr. Andrulis.

MR. DOYLE. But he remains under subpoena.

MR. ARENS. Yes, sir.

MR. DOYLE. But we postpone it.

MR. ARENS. Yes, sir; to a day when we can notify him.

I have also a doctor's certificate in my hand, presented to me a few moments ago, by counsel for Alice Yonik.

And I respectfully suggest that this doctor's certificate also be incorporated in the body of the record and that the record reflect the order from the chairman that the subpoena on Alice Yonik is continued to a day to be determined after we have had a chance—

MR. DOYLE. The subpoena for her will be continued.

May we have for the record the date of those two affidavits? When were they sworn to?

MR. ARENS. Neither is an affidavit. They are statements on the letterheads of the physicians with the signatures of the physicians.

MR. DOYLE. The date?

MR. ARENS. One is dated March 15, 1957, and the other is dated March 23, 1957.

Mr. DOYLE. If there is no objection, the subpoenas will be continued in full force and effect and the communications will be incorporated in the record.

(The statements follow:)

CHICAGO, ILL., March 15, 1957.

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr. Vincent Andrulis of 61 East 101st Place has a myocarditis and arteriosclerotic heart disease (heart ailment). Any prolonged, emotionally upsetting ordeal may react badly upon Mr. Andrulis.

HAROLD H. WAS, M. D.

NEAR NORTH MEDICAL CENTER,
Chicago, Ill., March 23, 1957.

To Whom It May Concern:

Mrs. Alice Yonik has been a patient of mine since 1954, and at present is being treated for a severe degenerative arthritis of the left knee. She has been advised not to leave the house and greatly limit her activity about the home for a period of 4 to 8 weeks.

Sincerely,

LEO M. GOLDMAN, M. D.

Mr. DOYLE. Call your first witness.

Mr. ARENS. The first witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. John Lautner.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please raise your right hand to be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAUTNER. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Please occupy the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LAUTNER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LAUTNER. My name is John Lautner. I live in Youngstown, Ohio, and I am a Government consultant on communism.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, would you kindly tell us whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us a thumbnail sketch of your personal life, with particular emphasis upon your membership and service in the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

I joined the Communist Party in 1929 in New York City. In 1930 I was sent to a training school, a National Training School, organized by the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party. After graduation I was sent to Detroit, Mich., as district secretary of the Hungarian National Bureau. While there, I was also secretary of the Control Commission of the Michigan district of the Communist Party.

In 1931, I was assigned to Canada as editor of a weekly Communist paper there and, in addition to that, as national secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of Canada.

In 1932, I was reassigned to Cleveland, Ohio, as one of the editors of a Communist newspaper in Cleveland and district secretary of the Hungarian Bureau there.

In 1933, I became a section organizer of the Communist Party in New York.

In 1936, I became a district organizer of the Communist Party for the State of West Virginia.

In 1941, I was sent to the National Training School of the Communist Party again. After graduation, I became a member of the Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party and national secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party. For about 6 months, also, I was national secretary of the Hungarian Section of the International Workers Order.

In 1942, November, I was drafted into the Army. I served in psychological warfare, being a graduate of the War Department military intelligence.

In 1945, June, I returned from overseas. I was reassigned as national secretary of the Hungarian Bureau and on the Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party.

In 1947, I became the industrial organizer of the Communist Party in the building trades in New York. In 1947, May, I became the State chairman of the Review Commission of the Communist Party in New York State. And, in addition to that, in September 1948, I was placed on the National Review Commission of the Communist Party, the national disciplines commission. I served in these two capacities up until I left the Communist Party on the 17th of January 1950.

Mr. ARENS. Since January 17, 1950, when you disassociated yourself from the Communist Party, have you maintained a continuing interest and kept yourself informed as best you can from various sources as to the techniques and operations of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, on the basis of your background and experience and current information and study of the Communist Party, could you tell this committee now, first of all, how serious is the Communist Party today, this minute, in the United States?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, the seriousness of the Communist Party, or lack of seriousness of the Communist Party, in the United States is determined by the gains of the worldwide Communist movement, gains that were made since the end of the Second World War. Today, practically the whole continental Asia is in the hands of the Communist movement, with the exception of the Indian subcontinent. A whole chain of new Communist countries came into being as a result of the end of the Second World War, the so-called new democracies, like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, and so forth, and also the fact that the Red Army—the role that the Red Army played in the years of 1945, 1946 and 1947 in consolidating these in Communist hegemony in the so-called new democracies. These are the determining factors.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Communist Party in the United States a bona fide political party, or is it a tentacle of the international Communist conspiratorial apparatus?

Mr. LAUTNER. The Communist Party of the United States, by its own design and own decision, as recently as its last convention in February, is part of a worldwide Communist movement, encompassing thirty-some-odd million members. Each component part of this

worldwide movement works and labors under various conditions to bring about the speediest and closer realization of the fundamental aims of the Communist Party.

Now, in the United States, this party is part of that worldwide Communist movement that adheres to the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism, and it adheres to proletarian internationalism. In different words, what helps the Communists in Burma, in the Philippines, or in Albania or in Algeria, is a gain for this party over here, too, and what harms the Communist movement everywhere else harms the Communist Party over here. In this sense, the Communist Party of the United States is part of that worldwide Communist movement led by the leading party of world communism, and that is the Soviet Party.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, the fact is, is it not, that the numerical strength of the Communist Party in the United States has been reduced over the course of the last several years? That is true, is it not?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a fallacy in undertaking to appraise the menace and danger of the Communist Party in the terms of its numerical strength?

Mr. LAUTNER. It is a fallacy to judge the party by its numerical strength. Lenin speaks about that, and he says it is not the numerical strength that ascertains the influence and the strength of the party but the quality of leadership it has and what influences that party, no matter how small it is, has from time to time on various issues with what sections, what segments of the population.

Mr. ARENS. The Communist Party, beginning about the time you left the party in 1950, deliberately divested itself of the intellectual dupes and those who were not hard core, isn't that correct?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, that is one way of putting it. The fact is that beginning in 1948, September, there was a deliberate and planned effort to streamline the party and to prepare the party for going underground. A new type of organization was conceived, the so-called three system. And Henry Winston, the national organization secretary of the party, in the middle of the year, made a statement that only those will remain members of the Communist Party who will be selected and register to be members of the Communist Party.

A lot of them, on the basis of this technicality, fell on the wayside, but the periphery of the party—the so-called outer reaches of the party—were consolidated on various issues; and the influence of the party began to exert itself in places where it never exerted itself before, exploring the so-called persecution of the party.

Elements like Norman Thomas, who was called a social Fascist just a few years back; elements like A. J. Muste, who was known and so designated by the party as an enemy of the working class, a social Fascist—these are elements today who find it comfortable to go, and on partial issues find themselves in the same boat with the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, so we are advised, has approximately 6,000 splendid, trained agents, but those 6,000 trained agents of this wonderful organization are engaged in a variety of activities, of which international subversion is only one

activity. How, numerically, does the strength of the Communist conspiracy compare in this Nation with the numerical strength of the FBI?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, as competent as the FBI is, I think they would have to work every agent 24 hours a day to catch up with back case-loads. I don't think that strength is sufficient in the face of the Communist danger that we face now.

Mr. ARENS. You have at least three times the number of Communist conspirators, foreign agents, on American soil, working for the world conspiracy as there are FBI agents in this country; is that correct?

Mr. LAUTNER. If that is the number of FBI agents, 6,000, then that is so, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Lautner, at the recent Communist Party convention in New York, there were certain declarations made to the effect that the Communist Party would no longer be part of the Moscow apparatus and that it would no longer advocate or stand for the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Can that be taken at its face value?

Mr. LAUTNER. Definitely not.

Mr. ARENS. Why not?

Mr. LAUTNER. Because the Communist Party, by its own design and own decision, still adheres to the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism, and Leninism means dictatorship; Leninism means force and violence. Unless they repudiate Leninism, unless they repudiate the deeds of Lenin, the massacre of the Kronstadt sailors, unless they repudiate the massacre of untold millions in the Soviet Union, there is no qualitative change there.

They also adhered at this convention to proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism means belonging to that army of Communists throughout the world in a disciplined and obliging way, which works for the destruction of, in this country, our form of government and, in other countries, other forms of government that the Communists want to destroy there.

Furthermore, they still defend the Soviet Union because they refused at that convention to exercise any type of criticism against the massacre of the Red army in Hungary. That did not happen. What did happen there was a unification in that Communist Party of the various strains that developed in the preconvention discussion. There was established in that convention a unity of will to act as one solid force facing the future, no matter what the future may mean for the Communist movement in this country.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us correct for the record a slip of the tongue by the witness. He said a massacre of the Red army in Hungary. You mean "by"?

Mr. LAUTNER. By the Red army in Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your background and experience, could you tell this committee the structure within the Communist apparatus for the purpose of undertaking to influence nationality groups in the United States?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. Well, the Communist Party itself elects a National Committee; and the National Committee then within itself elects a smaller committee, known as a political committee or board, and even a smaller committee on top of that as a secretariat.

Now, since the Communist Party is very much concerned and interested in all phases of human relationships and in order to give adequate coverage and attention to these so-called human relationships, under the name of the National Committee, various subcommittees are organized, who specialize in their specific phase of work which is delegated to them. Such subcommittees are labor commission, youth commission, Negro commission, women's commission, veterans' commission, finance commission, education commission, cadre commission, and also Nationality Groups Commission.

The Nationality Groups Commission is composed of qualified, highly skilled Communist leaders who know the problems in the various nationality group fields. This Nationality Groups Commission gives leadership and guidance in each nationality group of the Communist Party to the bureaus, national bureaus, that are designated by the Communist Party there and also gives guidance and a checkup on the content of the various nationality group Communist-language papers. This guidance and this checkup are done through meetings called by the Nationality Groups Commission to evaluate various trends in the nationality groups of the Communist Party; by reports accepted from the national bureau secretaries; by going in and investigating the workings of various nationality group bureaus and their institutions, such as mass organizations like the IWO—

Mr. ARENS. International Workers Order?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right. This is the way the National Committee keeps abreast as to what is going on and what is happening and what way they can help to reflect the party line in nationality groups.

Mr. ARENS. Why would the Communist Party have an interest in nationality groups in the United States?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, the party ever since its inception and particularly since the open letter in 1932, which—

Mr. ARENS. What letter?

Mr. LAUTNER. An open letter which was titled "Face Towards the Shop." Ever since then, the party is utmosty interested in gaining a foothold in the basic industries. To show how eager the party is in that direction, even the labor commission organized various subcommittees, such as maritime commission, mining commission, steel commission, auto commission, with people specializing in these problems pertaining to these various industries in order to gain a foothold to put roots into these basic industries.

Mr. ARENS. What part do the nationality groups play in that picture?

Mr. LAUTNER. The nationality groups are a basic part of this thinking. Foreign-born workers, first- and second-generation foreign-born workers, are the ones in the main in the basic industries, such as packing, steel, mining, or rubber or auto. And, in this way, the party is making all efforts to gain adherents and gain prestige in these basic industries; and the nationality groups are a lever in that direction.

Mr. ARENS. What was the role of the International Workers Order in the program of the Communist Party toward the nationality groups?

Mr. LAUTNER. The International Workers Order was a sick- and death-benefit organization, staffed by party leaders in all the higher

echelons; and it was a mass organization through which the party could further expand in the nationality groups and carry on Communist work, propaganda, and operation.

Mr. ARENS. In the International Workers Order, did they have a number of subunits which were clubs or cultural associations?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Consisting of nationality groups?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. A few years ago, Mr. Lautner, the State of New York revoked the charter of the International Workers Order because it found it was not a bona fide insurance organization. What happened to the roots of the organization after the top was chopped off?

Mr. LAUTNER. The top was cut off and the branches—I don't know about Chicago, but in New York they function on the basis of a cultural club or a tourist club or a singing society or a bowling group. They are still functioning unharmed and activities go on as before except that the top leadership was taken off from the IWO.

Mr. ARENS. What is the role of the foreign-language press in the Communist designs and apparatus?

Mr. LAUTNER. The role of the foreign-language press is to reflect the party policies, the party line, in the respective language in which that foreign-language press is printed, whether it is Hungarian, Croatian, or Yiddish, or Russian, it doesn't make any difference.

Mr. ARENS. What significance does the foreign-language press have in the purposes of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. The significance of it is that, well, it is not in English, in the first place; second, it is in the native tongue of the individual who reads it, and even there it tries to influence other language press in that foreign language. For instance, in the Hungarian field, there are quite a number of Hungarian newspapers, daily newspapers; but the Communist newspaper is trying to cut off the influence of the other Hungarian papers in that respect in the nationality group and, at the same time, project the party line. In addition to that, project, also, the thinking and the line of the Hungarian Communist government in this country.

Mr. SCHIERER. The press has a question as to your ruling with reference to taking pictures. It is my understanding the press may take pictures at any time unless the witness objects.

Mr. DOYLE. That is correct. If I did not make that clear, I now make it clear.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Lautner, during the course of your service in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Leo Fisher, F-i-s-h-e-r?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please tell us, first of all, who he was, identify him on the basis of his occupation; and then tell us any experience you had with him?

Mr. LAUTNER. Leo Fisher was for a while, a short while, the district organizer of the Communist Party in Detroit, Mich., in the winter of 1930-31, when the former district organizer, Jack Stachel, left for New York. At that time, I was in that district and I worked under him as control commission secretary. Later on, I met him, I think it was in the late 1930's, when I was district organizer

of West Virginia; and he used to come into district committee meetings in Pittsburgh and, if my recollection doesn't fail me, attended 1 or 2 district committee meetings there. And also, when I was on the Nationality Groups Commission, in 1941 or in 1942, I came down with Avro Landy to Pittsburgh once to discuss the party influence in the Croatian Fraternal Order; and we had a meeting with the Yugoslav leaders, Tony Minerich, Frank Borich, and Leo Fisher, I think. That was the last time I saw him while I was in the party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of your experience in the Communist Party, know as a Communist a person by the name of Anthony Minerich, A-n-t-h-o-n-y M-i-n-e-r-i-c-h?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify him for us.

Mr. LAUTNER. I met Tony Minerich in the late 1930's in Pittsburgh at district committee meetings and also, as I said before, at one of the meetings of the Croatian Fraternal Order that we had in the headquarters there; also once in Detroit, we had a meeting I think it was on the All-Slav Congress. Also I met him, I think it was in 1946 or 1947, when he came back from Yugoslavia and gave a report to the Nationality Groups Commission on Yugoslavia at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Was he, at any time in your experience in the Communist Party, connected with the foreign-language press?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes, he was business manager at one time for Narodni Glasnik—

Mr. ARENS. Is that Narodni Glasnik—

Mr. LAUTNER. In Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. ARENS. And you spell that N-a-r-o-d-n-i G-l-a-s-n-i-k?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of your experience in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Mike Walsh?

Mr. LAUTNER. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Alias George M. Wastila, W-a-s-t-i-l-a?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right. Mike Walsh was a party functionary in the Harlem Section of the Communist Party under James Ford and Louis Sas, and I think he attended 1 or 2 section organizer meetings; and I used to meet with him in the Finnish Hall and have party conferences and meetings, I think at 126th Street near 5th Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any service by him in the foreign-language press at the behest of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. I heard later on he went to Minnesota or Wisconsin and was one of the editors of the Finnish papers there.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your experience in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Bocho, B-o-c-h-o, whose last name is Mircheff, M-i-r-c-h-e-f-f, Bocho Mircheff?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Bocho Mircheff.

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. That was in 1930 and 1931. While I was in Detroit, Mich., Mircheff and Antonoff were the two outstanding leaders in the Bulgarian nationality group, and they just came out victoriously from a factional fight where the editor of the Bulgarian paper—I don't recall his name, Cenkof or something like that—was

removed and Mircheff became the bureau secretary of the Bulgarian bureau in Detroit at that time.

When I went to Canada the following year, party leaders like Sam Carr and others made friendly inquiries as to how Mircheff was getting along in Detroit. I told them he was getting along all right. I haven't seen him ever since.

Mr. ARENS. To your knowledge, was he at any time connected with the foreign press?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes, with the Bulgarian paper.

Mr. ARENS. Was that Narodna Volya, N-a-r-o-d-n-a V-o-l-y-a?

Mr. LAUTNER. I wouldn't know the name.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your experience in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Otto Wangerin, W-a-n-g-e-r-i-n, first name Otto, Otto Wangerin?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us your experience with him?

Mr. LAUTNER. I met him at National Committee meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. Of the Communist Party, in the 1930's conventions. He was the national coordinator of the party of railroad workers. And that was my knowledge and association with him.

Mr. ARENS. We thank you, Mr. Lautner.

I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer, Do you have any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Lautner, how did the Communist Party make use of the fact that many readers of foreign-language newspapers cannot read English and must depend upon the foreign-language newspaper for all of their political information?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, first, some of the papers have——

Mr. SCHERER. Did you understand my question?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. They had an English section inserted from time to time, on a weekly basis, or regularly or irregularly in the foreign-language press, touching various topics that the party was interested in. Some papers had daily English columns in order to whet the appetite of the younger elements in the family to look into the paper once in a while.

As far as the readers themselves were concerned, they were elderly people and they read the paper in their native tongue.

Mr. SCHERER. I think you missed the point of my question. Maybe I did not make it clear.

We all recognize the fact that there are many people in this country who cannot read English.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. And that they must depend, therefore, for their political information on the foreign-language press.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, do you have any information as to how the Communist Party used the fact that there are many readers who cannot read English and must depend on a foreign-language newspaper?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is why there are foreign-language papers controlled by the Communist Party to accommodate and to make further

gains in the respective nationality groups. But, in addition to that, there are a lot of Communist propaganda and material coming in, particularly since the end of the World War, in their respective native languages, into the United States. I know there is a lot of Hungarian Communist propaganda coming in, publications, books, pamphlets, that are distributed in the United States which originate from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. SCHERER. We have had an abundance of testimony to substantiate what you have said.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is good.

Mr. SCHERER. And perhaps later in these hearings, we will get into that particular phase of Communist propaganda activity.

I just have one more question. Do you have any opinion or information as to why the Communist Party moved its headquarters from New York City to Chicago, Ill.? Or decided to move its headquarters?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. The Communist Party was born in Chicago. It moved later on to New York City and has been in New York City approximately, let's see, from about 1924 or 1925—this is 1957—over 30 years in New York City. The party made all efforts to concentrate on the basic industries and to concentrate on the Negro people, and evidently these are the two failures of the party to show for the 30 years of activity.

The Negro people of Harlem repudiated communism. There is no doubt about that. They feel that maybe it will be a change of atmosphere in a new location back to Chicago, and they will be closer to the basic industries, and they feel that the Chicago South Side will supply the base of operation among the Negro people with more success than they could register in the past.

And then there are other reasons. There is one reason that they evidently don't say and have never spoken of publicly. That is that Chicago is the only city where there was no Smith Act conspiracy trial, conspiracy case, which is also in their consideration in moving to Chicago.

Well, these are, in my opinion, the considerations that bring up the question of moving to Chicago within a year. Whether that will be realized or not we will see, but they won't come here tomorrow or day after tomorrow. There are too many other problems involved.

There is the question of the Daily Worker, the newspaper. There is a question of running out on the charge of anti-Semitism against the party and the Soviet leadership, and New York has a big Jewish population.

These are also considerations that the convention decision had to take into account when they made a statement that they were going to move to Chicago.

Mr. SCHERER. From the questions that I have asked and from your testimony, we do not want to lead anyone to believe that the entire foreign-language press is Communist dominated. That is not so.

Mr. LAUTNER. Oh, definitely not.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe you said that.

Mr. LAUTNER. A very small segment of it is.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe you said in the beginning of your testimony only a small segment of it is.

Mr. LAUTNER. Very small. As a matter of fact, the largest Communist foreign-language circulation is the paper Vilnis right here in Chicago. I think that it is 32,000. I think there is no other Communist foreign-language paper that has that kind of circulation.

Mr. SCHERER. At the conclusion of our hearings in New York 2 weeks ago, the committee made that specific finding at the end of the hearing. Namely, it stated that they did not want the hearings to indicate that the committee felt in any way that the entire foreign-language press was Communist dominated, and the committee specifically said that only a small segment of the foreign-language press was Communist dominated and Communist controlled.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Although it is a small segment, yet the testimony in New York demonstrated clearly that it had a terrific influence in certain sections of New York City and other big cities.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. As to this paper Vilnis, there are 30,000 people who read that foreign-language paper which is Communist controlled; is that correct?

Mr. LAUTNER. 32,000.

Mr. ARENS. And they read it regularly?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And there is nothing on the masthead that indicates that it is of the hammer-and-sickle variety.

Mr. LAUTNER. No. They haven't got the 21 conditions on the front page.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you through, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask Mr. Lautner a few questions, please? I remember you left the Communist Party January 17, 1950.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you join?

Mr. LAUTNER. 1929.

Mr. DOYLE. Why did you leave?

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, Congressman, I don't think we should go into that. It would be unfair. I found myself in a very embarrassing situation. One nice Saturday evening on the 14th of January in Cleveland, in a cellar, stripped stark naked; and I was accused of being an international political police spy in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. You were accused by the Communists?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You were accused of being anti-Communist?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right, which was not the truth and was amply demonstrated and brought out in 15 or 16 Smith Act cases that they made a terrible mistake; and they are paying for it.

Mr. DOYLE. That was a good mistake.

Mr. LAUTNER. Well, good or bad, they made a mistake.

Mr. SCHERER. Both for you and for the information that you have subsequently given to the Congress of the United States.

Mr. LAUTNER. I was never a Government agent while in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. You stood trial?

Mr. LAUTNER. Trial? Yes, it was a trial with butcher knives, rubber hose and guns and a battery charger—they insulted my intelligence—they said it was a lie detector and a tape-recording machine.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you found guilty as charged by the Communists?

Mr. LAUTNER. Oh, yes. On the 17th of January they placed my picture in the Daily Worker and captioned it "Traitor to the cause of the working class," and what not.

Mr. SCHERER. During your trial, were you allowed to use the fifth amendment?

Mr. LAUTNER. Oh, no. There is no such thing in the Communist Party. You can't even bring your own witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, since this incident you related, have you completely, irrevocably broken from the Communist Party and its ideology?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct. That was a painful process, but fortunately I did.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a couple more questions, please?

Of course, at this trial—I do not know whether I should call it a trial—let me put it this way: This incident which you relate on January 14 of what year?

Mr. LAUTNER. 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, that was a jury trial, was it not, in the Communist Party? You had a right of trial by jury.

Mr. LAUTNER. Congressman, it was a trial by three thugs.

Mr. DOYLE. By what?

Mr. LAUTNER. Three thugs that I never saw before in my life, big huskies, and three so-called party leaders, Joe Brandt, Sol Wellman, and Jack Kling. Jack Kling was the national treasurer of the party. Sol Wellman was the party leader in Detroit. Joe Brandt was the party leader in Cleveland, Ohio.

I functioned for years in New York. By what stretch of the imagination I had to be in a cellar in Cleveland, Ohio, I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, you had by your side some able, distinguished lawyer to advise you on your constitutional rights all through that, did you not?

Mr. LAUTNER. I only had my own wits to save my life out of that predicament in which I found myself.

Mr. DOYLE. You had no lawyer?

Mr. LAUTNER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. You were not allowed one?

Mr. LAUTNER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. You were told you had a right to plead your constitutional privilege, were you not?

Mr. LAUTNER. I was not told so.

Mr. DOYLE. Not in the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. No. The Communist Party is a monolithic organization. You follow orders.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Doyle is being just a little facetious to bring out the fact.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, I have never known of a Communist Party trial where they did have the right of counsel or to plead their constitutional privilege, and manifestly I am asking you these questions in

this way to know what the fact was in your trial. I never heard the details of it before.

Mr. LAUNTER. You see, you have an entirely different set of moral, ethical, and political codes. In the Communist Party which has certain foundations—and those foundations are so overwhelmingly more important than the so-called claptrap of constitutional guarantees or trial by jury—party discipline, what is good for the party, the monolithic nature, the oneness of the party, is much more important than what happens to one single individual.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask another question, please?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. This was not as much a trial as an attempt by the use of force to obtain from you an admission that you were an international counter-Communist spy?

Mr. LAUTNER. Congressman, you are too generous. It was an attempt—first they tried to lure me across the ocean behind the Iron Curtain in December 1949. That didn't succeed because I couldn't get a passport. If I had been successful in going behind the Iron Curtain I would not be alive today.

Mr. SCHERER. You could not get a passport because the State Department would not issue you a passport because you were a Communist?

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes. That didn't work out. I was hurried down to Cleveland, Ohio, and I was to be done away with. If I had lost my head over there, I wouldn't be sitting here today. But, fortunately, a person who was in charge of that wrecking crew had a yellow spine; and when I tied his name into a Cleveland hotel, he got yellow. He was afraid to do away with me. So that is how I got away in that situation.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned the last convention when you referred to the convention last month of the Communist Party in the United States in New York.

Mr. LAUTNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I read the record of that convention as definitely as I could through the press, and I noted that the main written communication sent to that convention from any foreign country was sent by Jacques Duclos.

Mr. LAUTNER. Jacques Duclos.

Mr. DOYLE. The French Communist. He was the man, was he not, who sent the message from Moscow under his own name to the Communist Party convention of the United States in 1945 as a result of which Earl Browder, then the president of the American Communist Party, was expelled?

Of course, Earl Browder stated in his policy that he believed that the capitalist system, as in vogue in the United States, could survive and should be allowed to survive along in the same world with Soviet communism.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct. Browder was for coexistence and rebuilding what was destroyed in the Second World War on the basis of a coexistence policy. For that he was ousted.

Mr. DOYLE. So, back in 1945, there was this message from Duclos, the same French Communist who wrote a letter to the Communist Party convention last month in New York. He is one and the same individual.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. He pronounced that only one economic and social system could survive, and that was back in 1945, and he declared to the American Communists that that was the Soviet system, and he said the same thing again in February 1957.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is right, and he warned at this time, again, not to do that foolishness again to organize an association or something of that sort, maintaining the unity and the oneness of the Communist Party and to maintain the principle of Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you have concrete evidence of the fact that the American Communist Party in February 1957, at their national convention, was again dominated by Soviet Russia through the same French agent, Duclos.

Mr. LAUTNER. We don't need Duclos for that, Congressman. The Russians will say it themselves. The reason for the establishment of the Communist Information Bureau in 1947 was to establish contacts and exchange experiences. With the dissolution of the Communist Information Bureau, they have a new political periodical out now, International Affairs; and all the lead articles talk about tighter contacts, exchange of experiences between the various Communist parties. That is there. Duclos is just part of this relationship. He pinpoints them.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, he was used as a mouthpiece.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. To communicate this to the American Communist Party in February of this year.

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. I understood you to say that the role of the part of the foreign-language press in our country which is dominated or controlled by the Communists, is to reflect the Communist Party line. I want to emphasize and agree with Mr. Scherer that Congress does not claim, and we of the subcommittee do not claim, that all of the foreign-language press—naturally, not most of it, we hope—is controlled by the Communist Party philosophy. But entirely too much of it is controlled for the safety of our constitutional form of government.

When you say it is to reflect the party line, does that mean that the party line is projected into the foreign-language press in the United States deliberately to get across to the immigrants to our country—

Mr. LAUTNER. To the nationality groups.

Mr. DOYLE. The Communist line?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct. It is done deliberately in a planned way and conscientiously.

Mr. DOYLE. How do they get it into that part of the foreign-language press that uses it? How does it get in there?

Mr. LAUTNER. I explained that. It comes through consultation, through party leaders, it comes through suggestions, and it comes through planning and observing the party line, as party leaders are in charge of these papers and are party leaders themselves in their respective nationality groups.

For instance, in Chicago I know in 1946, when I was here on a tour, our problem was to strengthen the nationality group bureaus in Chicago under the leadership of Wagenknecht, district secretary of the language department here of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, but in 1946—you remained in the Communist Party 2 years after you were here in Chicago. Does that mean you were sent here as a Communist agent?

Mr. LAUTNER. More than 2 years—in 1946, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Right here to Chicago?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. You were not at the hearing, Mr. Doyle, in New York.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. That was the week before last. But in the hearings in New York, it was shown that, I believe, there were 26 individuals called who had been identified as hard-core members of the Communist Party. So we had a series of foreign-language newspapers in which the owner, the manager, and the editor were Communists. Of course, those foreign-language newspapers did a very fine job in conveying to their readers the Communist Party line and directives. Some of those newspapers were translated by the translators in the Library of Congress, and it was evident from merely reading the articles and editorials that they carried the very latest Russian or Communist Party line insofar as international and domestic affairs were concerned. This was just week before last.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, in view of the testimony of this witness on this point and the question I asked and the point Mr. Scherer just brought out, that I should read subdivision (ii) of subsection (q) (2) of Public Law 601, which I will relate, and this is one of the assignments that this subcommittee has today and tomorrow: To investigate—

the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.

I am pointing that out so that the record may show, and so that you folks in the hearing room may know, that we have a specific assignment to bring out and investigate the extent to which the Communist propaganda and activities are brought into our country from foreign countries.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should say further, Mr. Doyle, in order to clarify a point, that in spite of the fact that it was shown that this certain number of foreign-language newspapers was completely in control and dominated by Communists; namely, the editor, owner, and manager, there is no intent upon the part of this committee to recommend any kind of legislation to hamper those publications or to stop those publications.

Our sole purpose is to point out the fact that they are Communist controlled and Communist dominated so that the people who read those newspapers will know that they are receiving Communist propaganda.

Under the first amendment to the Constitution, we cannot possibly do anything, and we do not want to do anything, to interfere with the publication of those foreign-language newspapers that are following the Communist Party line and are also shown to be conclusively dominated and controlled by Communists.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Scherer.

Now, let me read amendment 1 of the Constitution right at this point, in line with Mr. Scherer's very timely observation.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

May I observe, too, for the record and you folks who are here, that you have heard Mr. Scherer and me discuss some of these things. Manifestly we do it not only for our own understanding of the problem, but hearings such as these are printed later in Washington, and they are furnished to every Member of Congress so that Congress will be informed on what we are doing and what is brought out and how the committee proceeds.

Any other question, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, do you wish to proceed?

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, is Nellie DeSchaaf.

Would you kindly come forward?

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. NELLIE DESCHAAF, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, PEARL M. HART

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Nellie DeSchaaf, D-e-S-c-h-a-a-f, 759 West 72d Street, Chicago, housewife.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mrs. DeSchaaf, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I am.

Mr. SCHERER. Could I have that name again, please?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Nellie DeSchaaf, D-e-S-c-h-a-a-f, housewife.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly identify yourself?

Mrs. HART. Pearl M. Hart, 30 North La Salle Street, Chicago, admitted to the bar, 1913.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, or have you ever been, connected with a publication known as Vilnis, V-i-l-n-i-s?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes; with the English section.

Mr. ARENS. And how long have you been connected with Vilnis?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. From 1950 to 1952.

Mr. ARENS. Were you disassociated from Vilnis in 1952?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of Vilnis? Could you tell us? (Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. You stated yourself it was 30,000. I imagine that should be close enough.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, since your formal disassociation from the staff of Vilnis, written articles for Vilnis?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes; I have on occasion.

Mr. ARENS. Do you continue to write articles for Vilnis?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Not for pay.

Mr. SCHERER. Not for pay?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You continue to write articles not for pay?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What language is the foreign-language section of Vilnis published in?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Lithuanian.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the editor?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Well, as I stated before, since I am only an occasional contributor, I don't know who the editor is.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the editor when you were employed by Vilnis on a full-time basis?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I don't know. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Who employed you?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. The manager.

Mr. ARENS. What was his name?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Mike Pauliukas.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read Lithuanian?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No; I don't.

Mr. ARENS. I have here a photostatic reproduction of an article by yourself in Vilnis, June 22, 1951, that I lay before you. Will you be good enough to confirm your authorship of this article? It is June 22, 1951, Vilnis, English section.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes; I did write that.

Mr. ARENS. I should like, for the purpose of the record, to read the first 2 or 3 paragraphs of this, Mr. Chairman.

It is an article entitled "FBI Set To Duplicate Deeds of Despicable Twenties," by Nellie DeSchaaf.

In 1920, the FBI earned a reputation that echoed not only throughout our land—but also throughout Europe and the entire world.

By their unwarranted brutality against the noncitizens, whom they crammed into prisons, tortured: by their infamous midnight and predawn raids, practiced only in countries where democracy is nonexistent, the FBI earned the hatred of every decent man and woman.

Thirty-one years later, the bloodhound hunt is on again. This time, however, not only against the foreign born, but against every individual who dares to speak out against the injustices and corruption which are taken for granted by our so-called representatives of democracy.

Once more, as in the disgraceful twenties, the newspapers will be able to scream, "FBI Rounds Up 17 Red Chiefs"; "Nab Brain Trust in New York, Pittsburgh, Charge Anti-United States Plot."

It would be very interesting to dig up the old copies of the newspapers in the 1920's—

And so forth.

Was this article also translated into Lithuanian?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I would not know. I had no connection with the Lithuanian section.

Mr. ARENS. Was this article put in the paper at the instance of anyone known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No; it wasn't.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you wrote the article?
(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have any help from anyone in writing that article?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No; I didn't. And I would like to say further that there was no connection between the Lithuanian and the English, no one had to dictate. I wrote exactly as I pleased.

Mr. SCHERER. Did anyone do any research for you that enabled you to write it?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No. I did that myself. Anything pertaining to English, no one had anything to do with that except myself.

Mr. SCHERER. You did the research for the information that was contained in that article?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is right.

(Document marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any connection with the organization known as Committee To Preserve American Freedoms?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a printed document which came to the attention of this committee just a day or so ago, "Your Right To Read Newspapers, To Buy Books, To See Films Is Challenged by the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

On Tuesday, March 26, and Thursday, March 28, several of your fellow citizens have been summoned to appear for inquisition before the House Un-American Activities Committee (the Walter committee) at the Federal courthouse in Chicago. Their crime: They publish newspapers, sell books, or exhibit films that the bigots on the Walter committee don't like.

The most un-American activity in the United States is the conduct of the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. It is so viciously flagrant a violation of every element of common decency associated with human liberty that it is a foul mockery on all that Jefferson and Lincoln made articulate in their dreams of a cleaner, finer order on earth—

and so forth, listing in here the number of people who have been subpoenaed by this committee to appear, calling upon the people of this community to telephone and write John S. Knight's Detroit Free Press; to alert their friends and neighbors, church and club members; calling upon people to write their Congressmen to urge the abolition of this committee, and it lists here the names of certain Congressmen, urging the people to attend the hearings here today; and finally there is an appeal for funds.

Please look at this document, madam, while you are under oath and tell this committee if you know its source and origin.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer that on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. While you are under oath, I should like to have a response to this question: Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully the knowledge you have respecting the source of that document and the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAFF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered to answer that question. The reason for that question is to see whether or not she is invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

The only reason whereby she can invoke the fifth amendment is if she has a true, honest apprehension that, in response to the question, she will give information that might be used against her in a criminal proceeding.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct the witness to answer that last question. The committee cannot accept the answer you made as a legal, constitutional exercise. We do not believe it is a lawful, legal, and permissible answer to that question to justify you to plead the amendments.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer that again for the same reasons I gave before on the first and the fifth that I shall not be required to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write that document or the essence of that document?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Same answers as before.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to read now, if you please, Mr. Chairman, an article appearing in Vilnis under date of March 22, 1957, by Nellie DeSchaaf. I should like to read excerpts from it. First of all, it discusses the subpoenas, pursuant to which a number of people were called before this committee, and then it proceeds as follows:

Readers are given the opportunity to assess the forthrightness of their papers by the number of subpoenas issued by the Un-American Committee for the March 26 hearings.

The "Vilnis" really rang the bell with five subpoenas, for the following—

Here are listed the names of the people. Then we find this:

Those readers, whose papers did not receive a subpoena, have a very good cause for reproaching their editors. Had their newspapers not limited themselves to reprinting only those items appearing in any and every newspaper, they, too, might have earned the name of newspaper.

At the Un-American Committee's last visit to Chicago, in which the targets were the Midwest committee and other foreign-born defense groups, the hearing room fairly bubbled—

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Bulged.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

bulged at the seams.

All seats were occupied and people stood in lines at the door—
and so forth.

With Harvey O'Connor, author, and Carl Braden, newspaperman of Louisville, Ky., heading a committee to publicize the coming hearings as widely as possible we are expecting a [sic] church groups, lawyers, trade unionists, many foreign-born, and others are expected to attend.

Do come, too, won't you?

You authored that article; did you not?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. And you know, of course, you had a right to author that article.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is right.

Mrs. ARENS. You, of course, know that no one is trying to impede you in the authorship of that article, do you not?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That all depends on what you mean by "impede."

Mr. ARENS. Were you under the discipline of the Communist conspiracy when you wrote this article?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No one told me. I wrote that myself.

Mr. ARENS. Were you under the discipline of the Communist conspiracy when you wrote this article?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. No, I wasn't.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you wrote this article?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I should like to ask you if you would be good enough to identify your own photograph for us here. We have two photographs of yourself here in the Rosenberg clemency picket, June 16, 1953. Please look at those two photographs and, while under oath, if you will be good enough to, identify your own physical features as they appear in those photographs.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer, first of all because I don't think the question is pertinent to the purpose for which your committee was created, and, further, my refusal is based on the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully whether or not these photographs are photographs of yourself, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the same basis of the two reasons I gave before.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

May I make this explanation? When you invoke the fifth amendment, madam, the courts have said that if the committee or counsel feel that you might not be invoking it properly, they should and must ask you the question whether or not you honestly believe that, if you answered the question, it might lead to a criminal prosecution. Your only answer to that question can be "Yes," if you are invoking the fifth amendment properly. If you do not answer that question "Yes" and invoke the fifth amendment instead, then you are placing yourself in

contempt of this committee. So I just want to advise you and tell you what the law is, because you cannot plead the fifth amendment to a question as to whether you are invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Scherer, we have a right to assume, to a certain extent, that she knows what the law is because she has counsel with her and consults her frequently.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to make it abundantly clear.

Mr. DOYLE. I am glad that you did.

Mr. SCHERER. And warn her that the only answer to that question can be "Yes." She can answer "No," but then that, of course, is not invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right. Mr. Arens, while the counsel and her witness are conferring, may I have the date of those photos, please, the date indicated of that picket line?

Mr. ARENS. June 16, 1953.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a question outstanding on this?

Mr. SCHERER. She has not answered the direction, Mr. Chairman. I assume there is.

Mr. DOYLE. I will make it clear as soon as she is through.

Mrs. HART. Let the chairman give the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, I wish to direct you to answer that last question. The committee cannot accept it as sufficient claim of the fifth amendment.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer because the question is not pertinent to the purpose for which this committee is created and also on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments which state very clearly that I am not compelled to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. On June 27, 1952, American boys were fighting in Korea. I would like to invite your attention to 1 or 2 excerpts from the Vilnis Weekly Review, English section, of that date, and then ask you a question or two about them:

Compound No. 76 of this POW camp is dark and poorly ventilated. Its quarters are in utter darkness, devoid of bedding. It has 18 torture rooms and 6 steam rooms in which Americans put the captives to death by live steam. In addition, there are four gallows.

The American gangsters—

That is, the soldiers representing the country under whose flag you have protection—

Mrs. DESCHAAF. All right.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

The American gangsters treated the POW's like beasts. They starve prisoners and imposed forced labor on us every day, despite our hunger. Our two meals daily were inadequate and consisted of coarse food. We had rice only once a week.

The American robbers tortured captured personnel on the flimsiest pretexts. They also often starved prisoners to death.

As was the case with other captives, the American gangsters tried to make me sign the so-called "petition" in blood, but I refused.

Were you a member of the staff of Vilnis Weekly Review on June 27, 1952?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Yes; I was at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall this particular article that appeared in it?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. No, I don't.

Mr. ARENS. May I lay it before you and see if it refreshes your recollection.

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. It is an account, according to the introduction there—I haven't read the entire article—reporting the situations presumed to exist then in the American prisoner-of-war camps for the enemy.

Mr. DOYLE. Where were those camps located?

Mr. ARENS. Kojé. I do not want to read the whole article. It is too long.

Mr. SCHERER. Does the article indicate who the author was?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mrs. HART. What is the question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Does the article now before you refresh your recollection as to the time of its appearance and its content?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. I would like to point out this was taken from the Korean Independent, and it was not my statement as to exactly—I do remember that. This is the source right here [indicating]. Just as you would have the Federated Press, so that was not my editorial.

Mr. ARENS. I did not suggest that it was.

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. I said this was the source and that is exactly why I remember the article.

Mr. ARENS. That is exactly the point I am going to develop in a minute. Where did that article originate?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. In the Korean Independent.

Mr. ARENS. In North Korea?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. No. It was in Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. ARENS. Was that incorporated in your paper with your knowledge and consent?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. If I put it in there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you put it in? That is the question.

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Certainly.

Mr. SCHERER. She had that inserted in that paper?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Because that was from the Korean Independent.

Mr. ARENS. Do I understand your answer to be that you inserted that article? I understood you got it from the Korean Independent. But you placed the article in this particular newspaper, is that right? (Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any investigation before you put this in the paper for circulation in this community as to whether or not the "American gangsters treated the POW's like beasts"? Did you make any investigation, before you put this in your paper as an assertion of fact, to determine whether or not the American soldiers who were fighting for you and for the preservation of our Republic were starving prisoners and were imposing forced labor on the prisoners? Did you make any investigation to ascertain whether or not that was the truth before you caused that to be printed in this publication?

Mrs. DeSCHAAF. Would you repeat that question?

Mr. ARENS. The essence of the question is: Did you make any investigation to ascertain whether or not the content of this article was true, which so severely indicted and condemned our soldier boys, before you published it in this paper?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Did that appear during the Korean war, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; June 27, 1952.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I just can't follow that question.

Mr. ARENS. Let me just read you another sentence, and let me ask you if you made any investigation before you put this in your paper or had any qualms of conscience before you ran this:

* * * the American crime of manhandling, torturing, and butchering captured personnel have blown skyhigh the American lies about "voluntary repatriation," "humanitarian principles," and the like.

Did you make any investigation to ascertain whether or not our American troops in Korea were butchering prisoners of war, were engaged in all kinds of inhumanitarian practices before you caused this article to be placed in this publication?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first amendment.

(Document marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest she be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee cannot accept that as a sufficient answer, as a claim for any legal reason why you should not answer the question. I therefore direct you to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Is there a question outstanding?

Mr. SCHERER. There is a question, and she has not answered it.

Mrs. HART. I thought there wasn't—

Mr. DOYLE. I directed the witness.

Witness, did you not hear me direct you to answer the question?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I don't know whether there was a question or not.

Mrs. HART. Would you like to start that one again?

Mr. ARENS. There is a direction by the chairman to the witness to answer the question. The question is whether or not she made any investigation to ascertain the truth of the very serious charges contained in this article which she caused to be placed in this paper.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first amendment and also the fifth amendment, that I need not testify against myself; and, further, the committee informed us that your purpose was not to legislate for purposes of the press, but only to identify persons, so I do not feel this is relevant to this committee.

Mr. SCHERER. All right. Witness, you refused to answer the question as to whether you investigated the truth or falsity of the charges of the article you had placed in this newspaper. It is obvious to the committee that you did not care about the truth or the falsity of the charges.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Brother.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to ask you this question, whether or not you actually believed this statement which you caused to be inserted and circulated in this newspaper:

Compound No. 76 of this POW camp is dark and poorly ventilated. Its quarters are in utter darkness, devoid of bedding. It has 18 torture rooms and 6 steam rooms in which Americans put the captives to death by live steam. In addition, there are 4 gallows.

I am not asking you whether you investigated the truth or falsity of those charges. I am asking whether or not, when you inserted that, you actually believed those charges?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. My personal beliefs are no concern of the committee, I don't feel.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, that I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, this article was published in this newspaper at the time we were engaged in war. Do you know what the definition of treason is? Do you know what constitutes treason under the law?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I don't know what your definition is.

Mr. SCHERER. What is your definition?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. You know that treason is giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war. You know that, do you not? You might ask your lawyer if that is not a correct definition.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Is it not a fact that this article published during a time of war was giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whether or not the facts in this article were true or false?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reasons as before.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you about this publication in which it was reprinted.

According to this article, the original article was published in the paper called the People's Army News. From whence did you procure the article that was reprinted in Vilnis Weekly Review?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You told us you got something from the Korean Independent. What was it you got from the Korean Independent?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the editor of the Korean Independent?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Why? The Korean Independent is likewise a Communist-controlled publication of which Peter Hyun, a Communist, is editor.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the same reasons as before.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know Peter Hyun?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Peter Hyun. H-y-u-n.

Mr. SCHERER. I request that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Same answer as given before.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, you are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer it as I did before on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Give us the names of persons known by you to be identified in an official status with Vilnis.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You know who are identified in official status with Vilnis, do you not?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse for the same reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, were you born in this country?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I don't think that is pertinent to the purpose for which this committee was created.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct——

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute madam.

I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question whether or not she was born in the United States because, if she was not born in the United States or naturalized, I have a motion I want to make.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee takes the position that it has a legal right to ask any question pertinent to identification of a witness before it, whether or not the person is an American citizen. So, I direct you, Witness, to answer Mr. Scherer's question whether or not you were born in the United States of America.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Well, even though I don't feel that question is pertinent to the purpose, but just for your own information, Mr. Scherer, I was born here.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to where she was born.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question as to where you were born.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. West Frankfort, Ill.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Jacob Pauliukas—P-a-u-l-i-u-k-a-s?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Alice Yonik—Y-o-n-i-k?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. She succeeded you as the regular editor of the English section of Vilnis, did she not?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. You contributed an article just about a week ago?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Leon Pruseika—P-r-u-s-e-i-k-a?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Vincent Andrulis—A-n-d-r-u-l-i-s?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. They are all officials of Vilnis, are they not?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully submit, Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a few questions, please?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. Yes; you may.

Mr. DOYLE. I think the record will show, madam, when you were asked the first time where this article that you stated you had inserted in this Vilnis Weekly Review for June 27, 1952, came from, you stated you got it from the Korean Independent, Los Angeles, Calif. Los Angeles County is my home, and I represent one of the districts in that county. Therefore, I am particularly interested in your answer.

I see from this photostat of this sheet, page 2, that you not only printed that insert, but you printed two others of a like nature. I will not take time to go into those.

When you were on the paid staff of this paper, were you in the habit of publishing portions of releases from the Korean Independent, Los Angeles, Calif.?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know anything about a group called the Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a leaflet which I understand was distributed by a picket line here in Chicago just this morning. This leaflet is circulated, according to its heading, by the Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press.

Please look at that and see if you can tell is if you have any information respecting that organization.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the same grounds that I gave before.

(Document marked "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel, if you told this committee truthfully such information as you have respecting the Chicago Committee to Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reasons, the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully submit that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that last question, if you please.

Mr. SCHERER. If she invokes the fifth amendment to that question, this member of this committee, at least, wants to say, in his opinion, you are clearly in contempt of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, two members of the committee feel the same.

Mr. SCHERER. The law is clear on that question.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I know that, under the fifth amendment, I do not have to be a witness against myself, and I do feel that your purpose is for the purpose of intimidation.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness now be ordered and directed to answer that question. There is no question but that she is under an order to express to this committee whether or not, if she told truthfully such information as she has respecting the Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press, she would be supplying information that might be used against her in a criminal proceeding.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness and counsel, so there will be no misunderstanding—counsel, please, I want to instruct your client again to answer that last question.

Excuse me for interrupting, but I wanted the witness to get that the second time. I am instructing her to answer that question.

Mrs. HART. May I make a statement on behalf of the witness?

Mr. DOYLE. No; I am sorry.

Mrs. HART. If the court please—

Mr. ARENS. Your sole and specific prerogative under the rules of this committee is to advise the witness.

Mrs. HART. I can speak almost as loud as you can. I know what the rules are.

Mr. ARENS. You know you are in violation of the rules of the committee when you address the chairman or the committee except to—

Mrs. HART. I may address the chairman. This is still the United States of America. I am going to ask the chairman if I may address the chairman. If he says "No," I won't.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, we do not permit counsel to get into discussion and get into argument with the committee. I read the rule, and I insist on all counsel complying with the rule of the committee which limits you to talk to your client and not to the committee.

Mrs. HART. That makes it very difficult, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. We are both lawyers, and we realize that you have the privilege to advise your client on constitutional rights. We are glad you are here for that purpose.

Mrs. HART. I am here as a matter of right, not as a matter of privilege, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. No; you are here as a matter of privilege.

Mrs. HART. I disagree with the Congressman. May I have the direction again, please?

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you, Witness, to answer the last question. This is the second time I have instructed you—I think the record will show—to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the same grounds of the first and fifth amendments, that I am not required to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that each of the various documents which have been alluded to this morning be appropriately marked and incorporated in the record by reference.

Mr. DOYLE. May I see the first sheet, please?

May I be privileged to ask you a couple of questions, Witness?

First, I wish to just make this observation for the record in your presence. I see that this article which you inserted in this Vilnis Weekly Review, Chicago, for Friday, June 27, 1952, refers to it as 1 of 3 letters purporting to be letters from escaped Korean prisoners

of war to the Korean People's Army. That is the army in North Korea.

I just wish to say, Witness, some of us had sons who gave their lives for this country and for you. I am one of them. I consider this as a dastardly libel and slander of every boy in the American Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine uniform. I think you were part of it, knowingly. You could not have helped but have known that this would slander and libel, in the mind of every person who read it, every boy in the American uniform, because you did not identify the men charged with this dastardly crime. You let it go as it was printed. I think you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

I want to repeat it. I consider it, as a Member of Congress, a dastardly libel and slander of every boy and girl in the American Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine uniform during the last war.

That is what you can expect from a Communist-controlled paper in wartime or even in peacetime. I have no sympathy for you having done this despicable thing. I do not think you need any sympathy, either.

Mr. SCHERER. And she smiles.

Mrs. DESCHAAP. Who is smiling?

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask another question.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me finish.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry.

Mr. DOYLE. And as to this sheet headed "Your Right," apparently issued by the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, room 504, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill., "Harvey O'Connor, chairman; Cecile Trace, vice chairman; Carl Braden, secretary-treasurer," and on the bottom it says "Labor donated," I would assume that no organized labor shop would print this filthy thing.

Mr. Arens, our counsel, asked you a question about an article you wrote in June 1951.

Would you refresh my memory, please? Were you on the paid staff of this Vilnis newspaper then in June 1951? You gave a date when you were.

Mrs. DESCHAAP. I think I was.

Mr. DOYLE. Here is what you wrote in that article as I wrote it down: "Bloodhound hunt is on again."—"Our so-called representatives of democracy"—"our so-called representatives of democracy."

If that isn't a Commie line, I don't know what is.

And then on the back of this sheet, "Your Right," we find this:

Write our Congressmen and urge abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Chicago area Congressmen are—

and then you list every Member of Congress from the Chicago area.

I want to say that we consider every Member of Congress as a patriotic and devoted representative trying to represent the cause of democracy, and apparently you do not. I would consider your statement when you said "so-called representatives of democracy" as a libel and a slander on every Congressman from the Chicago area; and that is what you intended it to be, I believe, when you wrote that article in June 1951.

Now, I want to ask you, as long as you are part and parcel of this sheet that you have circulated, and had circulated, to try to

embarrass this committee, do you consider that any member of the Chicago delegation or Illinois delegation in the House of Representatives is only a "so-called representative of democracy"? Who is a "so-called representative of democracy" from Illinois on either side of the aisle?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That question certainly is not pertinent to the purpose of this committee, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You printed an article attacking, in effect, every Member of the United States Congress because you designated us as "so-called representatives of democracy," therefore making light deliberately of the constitutional form of our Government. And, what you intended to do, in my book, was to weaken the constitutional form of Government in the mind of every person who read this attack by you.

If you think my words are too strong, they are not too strong. I get fed up on you folks who feel you have the privilege to destroy, by subversion and innuendo, the constitutional form of government; and that is what you did, young lady, when very obviously you attacked, on this sheet here, every member of the Illinois delegation in connection with this statement that the "bloodhound hunt is on again," and we have "so-called representatives of democracy." That is another commie attack in my book.

One thing more: From that article of June 1951, you called the efforts of the FBI to run down the Communist conspiracy in this country a "bloodhound hunt," again deliberately and dastardly accusing our Federal Bureau of Investigation of being a bunch of bloodhounds. That is what you intended to do, and I notice some folks smiling in the audience. That is all right, smile.

But I do not dare speak out when I see a lousy, filthy attack like this. The trouble is we have to observe the constitutional rights of citizens in doing it.

I want to read the paragraph. This appeared in Vilnis, June 22, 1951, under your byline. When we print this in the hearings of this committee, I want every citizen who has a patriotic streak in him to know the kind of filth you spread out.

Thirty-one years later, the bloodhound hunt is on again. This time, however, not only against the foreign-born, but against EVERY individual who dares to speak out against the injustices and corruption which are taken for granted by our so-called representatives of democracy.

I wish to say my father was foreign born. I am always proud of him.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask one more question?

Mr. DOYLE. Let me just finish, please.

In this sheet you charge this hearing today and tomorrow with being an inquisition. You use that term in this sheet you helped edit and write and circulate. That is my conclusion. But I think the great majority of people who are in this room, as well as the American public, whenever they think of you, will look at you with shame when you have called this sort of thing an inquisition.

I think, with God's help, we ought to get more power to inquire into the dastardly attacks you make and have made, according to the record, on the American Military Establishment and on the FBI. The trouble is, we do not have enough help to expose the real intended purpose of

people who write filth such as you have written in these papers. And I have no apologies for saying just what I said.

Mrs. HART. May I direct a question to the Chair, please?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, I will let you ask one question, counsel.

Mrs. HART. It is on this, Mr. Chairman. You have made some very strong remarks in relation to this young lady, and she is given absolutely no opportunity under the rules to answer. Now, I can understand how you feel. I am raising no criticism about that, you see. But it is a situation which just isn't fair. You are sitting on the dais in a position of authority——

Mr. DOYLE. You asked the privilege to ask a question, not make a speech.

Mrs. HART. You know what I want to ask.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. If this young lady wants to speak as to what she wrote in these articles and why she wrote them, yes, we will give her time right now. She has a chance to answer my statements if she wants to. I will give her the chance to answer.

Go ahead, young lady, answer it. Do go ahead, young lady. Your counsel said you did not have a chance to answer any criticism.

Mrs. HART. What I want to point out, though, is your personal criticism of her. Do we want the Chair to indulge in personalities? That is the question I ask.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you want me, and what do you expect me, to do—just sit here while every member of the Illinois delegation has been libeled and slandered by her attack?

Mrs. HART. You may sound indignant. She, nevertheless, has the right under the Constitution——

Mr. DOYLE. I have the right, too, under the Constitution, to say what I conclude from her evidence.

I will give you the chance, young lady. Go ahead. Why did you print this filthy, lousy thing, charging the American military with butchering human beings? Why did you print it? Give the American public your justification if you have one.

Mrs. HART. The question, if the Chair please——

Mr. DOYLE. Now, counsel——

Mrs. HART. With reference to your personal attack upon her, nothing else.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, go ahead and answer it.

Mrs. HART. That doesn't respond to your personal attack.

Mr. DOYLE. Answer what I said to you, young lady, if you want to.

Mrs. HART. You used such words as lousy this and that and the other thing. I don't think it is dignified for the Chair to use that toward the witness who is subpoenaed here.

Mr. DOYLE. I cannot find in the English language, within my limited knowledge, words that are strong enough to describe that kind of garbage, can you?

Mrs. HART. That is all right, but a person, and certainly the chairman, certainly ought to be restrained enough to maintain his position as chairman without being so critical personally. That is the point I am making.

Mr. DOYLE. When your own son and hundreds of thousands of other sons have died in the uniform of the American military to protect our

freedom, what do you expect me to do when there is this sort of malicious attack on them?

Mrs. HART. It is to investigate, not circulate and indulge in personalities. That is all I am saying.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not indulging in personalities. I am indulging in the statement of a writer—a writer for pay, if you please, when she wrote this—an attack on the American Military Establishment and the policy of the United States Congress.

Mrs. HART. You have a right to disagree and so has she.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you have a question, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Now, as to this publication, Witness, that Mr. Doyle is talking to you about, entitled "Your Right," published by the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, it is indicated that that committee has its headquarters at room 504, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago 6, Ill. As a matter of fact, that was Communist Party headquarters, was it not?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. You know, as a matter of fact, do you not, Witness, that that was Communist Party headquarters, that very room?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. The same reasons, the same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you traveled abroad in the last 10 years?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I don't feel that is pertinent to the purpose this committee was created for.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mrs. DESCHAAF. And I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me give the instruction and then answer whatever way you feel is your privilege. I instruct you to answer that last question Mr. Scherer asked you.

Mrs. HART. As to whether she ever traveled abroad—that is the question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. We think it is a matter of identification of a newspaper which we believe is Communist-controlled on which she was a paid member of the staff and, manifestly, saw to it that there was inserted in this Vilnis Weekly Review false news items, originating from Communist sources. We believe it is a pertinent question.

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. So, will you repeat your question again?

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever traveled abroad?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. And the answer is "No."

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received any compensation from the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. DESCHAAF. That is too ridiculous, but I still refuse to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Whether ridiculous or not, have you ever received any compensation—

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait just a minute. Have you ever received any compensation, either directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party?

Mrs. DESCHAAF. I refuse to answer for the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, any other questions?

Mr. ARENS. No. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness, then, is excused.

Mrs. HART. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, if you please, will be Jacob Pauliukas.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Have the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF JACOB PAULIUKAS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING G. STEINBERG

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself my name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. My name is Jacob Pauliukas. I live at 5447 West 23d Street, Cicero, Ill.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not get the name.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Jacob Pauliukas.

Mr. SCHERER. Jacob?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Jacob.

Mr. SCHERER. And I did not get the last name.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Pauliukas, P-a-u-l-i-u-k-a-s.

Mr. SCHERER. B-a-u——

Mr. PAULIUKAS. P like in Paul.

Mr. SCHERER. P-a-u——

Mr. PAULIUKAS. l-i-u-k-a-s.

Mr. ARENS. Your occupation, please, sir.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to his occupation.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse on the fifth amendment to answer the question. I don't want to incriminate myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to where he was born.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed, witness.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments. I don't want to incriminate myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I cannot possibly see how answering my question as to his birthplace could incriminate him and again I might say, in the opinion of this member of the committee, the witness, by refusing to answer, places himself in contempt.

Mr. DOYLE. I would not think he committed any act, when he was born, by his own self that would incriminate him.

I instruct you to answer the question, Witness. We believe we are entitled to the identification of a witness as to where you were born.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to testify against the fifth amendment, against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to testify against myself.

Mr. DOYLE. Answer the question. We are certainly entitled to know whether we have a citizen of the United States before us.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you go to school?

Mr. STEINBERG. Let him finish the answer.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I don't want to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you go to school?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I request that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment. I do not have to be compelled.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever go to school?

Mr. STEINBERG. You are not giving him a chance to finish the answers.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever go to school?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you ask the witness to keep his voice up so that we can hear when he is finished?

Mr. STEINBERG. I will.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever go to school?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. What is the question?

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever go to school?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness.

I say this to the witness. You have worthy legal counsel by yourself. If you want plenty of time to counsel with him before you answer, you may. Do you understand me?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer; this question has nothing to do with this problem on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you tell the committee of your educational background?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Same way. I refuse to answer; the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say what is your present address?

Mr. STEINBERG. You are not giving him a chance to answer. There was a direction to the question he didn't answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought he had.

Mr. STEINBERG. He didn't have a chance.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you ask the witness to talk louder?

Mr. STEINBERG. I will. He has difficulty understanding English, you see, and it is a little hard.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer. This has nothing to do with this particular investigation. Also, I refuse because I don't want to testify against myself on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Your counsel said you have difficulty in understanding English. What language do you understand?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. What language do you understand?

Mr. STEINBERG. Would you let him finish?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Answer the question.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. What is the question?

Mr. STEINBERG. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. SCHERER. Will you read it, Mr. Reporter?

(Pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer this question on the basis this is not the purpose of this committee, on the basis of the fifth amendment and the first amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Witness, counsel said you have difficulty understanding English. I want to inquire, have you understood the question I asked you?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You understood that?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes; I understand.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say you live in Cicero?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer. It is not pertinent.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer. No man has been compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe to answer the question as to how long you have lived in Chicago, might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer the question on the fifth amendment, on the grounds that no person can be compelled to incriminate himself.

Mr. SCHERER. We are not asking you to incriminate yourself. We are asking you if you honestly believe that to answer that question, might tend to incriminate you; and the law says you can only answer that question "Yes" if you are invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I invoke the first and fifth amendments, the same way.

Mr. SCHERER. Very well.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response——

Mr. SCHERER. Just one second. In what other cities have you lived?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis——

Mr. SCHERER. Other than Chicago or Cicero?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments. I don't want to incriminate myself.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct you to answer that question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you married, Witness?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. What?

Mr. SCHERER. Are you married?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer. The purpose has nothing to do with the——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe——

Mr. STEINBERG. You are not giving him a chance to finish.

Mr. SCHERER. As far as I was concerned, he had finished the answer. I cannot hear him. Let him finish the answer.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. This has nothing to do with the investigation, on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I submit, Mr. Chairman, it is a proper question for the purpose of identification of the witness; and I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question whether he is married.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the fifth amendment, no man has been compelled to answer the question, to testify against himself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe to answer the question whether you are married or not could lead to a criminal prosecution? Do you honestly believe that?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I answer the same way as previous.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, no man has to be compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Mr. ARENS. I have two formal questions that I would like to ask you. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly keep your voice up.

And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry. I cannot hear the witness up here.

Mr. STEINBERG. Irving G. Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Witness, keep your voice up a little bit.

You are right now, are you not, identified with Vilnis?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic copy of a statement filed by yourself as business manager of Vilnis, pursuant to postal laws, in which you list here your official connection with Vilnis, that Vilnis is published by the Workers Publishing Association, and lists the other officers of that organization.

Please look at this document, which I now display to you, and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not that is a true reproduction of a document filed by you pursuant to the postal laws.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Do you have the original?

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly respond to the question?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Keep your voice up, please, so we can hear you.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first amendment.

(Document marked "Pauliukas Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you a photostatic reproduction of Vilnis of May 8, 1931, and ask you if you would be good enough to accommodate the Committee on Un-American Activities in following that while I repeat the translation.

Mr. STEINBERG. I am going to object to this, if the Court please. I have to have a translator here.

Mr. ARENS. I did not ask counsel to do it.

Mr. STEINBERG. I need a translator—

Mr. ARENS. Counsel's sole prerogative is to advise his client. Counsel now is in violation of the committee's rules. If counsel does not restrain himself, I am going to respectfully suggest that the committee have him ejected from the hearing room.

Mr. STEINBERG. If the Court please, may I have a ruling on this?

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, this is not a court, as I stated. I know you have been in the hearing room all morning in the front seat there. You heard me read our rule. I believe it is entirely proper for the

witness, if he can read the language in which he prints a newspaper, apparently, or did in that year, that he read it.

Mr. STEINBERG. I am saying we should have an impartial Lithuanian interpreter. That is my only point.

Mr. ARENS. You have received a ruling from the Chair. Your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client.

Mr. STEINBERG. I don't know that that is—

Mr. ARENS. And you know it is part of the rules of this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question, please.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly, if you will do so, let your eyes scan this Vilnis editorial or lead article of May 8, 1931, while I read here, and I will begin in the second paragraph. This is a translation which we have from the—

Mr. STEINBERG. Where does it say May 1931?

Mr. ARENS. Library of Congress:

A year ago, May 11, 1930, Vilnis stockholders had declared themselves, accepted the resolution, "Vilnis is a Communist newspaper, Vilnis' political line, for that reason, must be the Communist line."

Is that a true and correct translation of the language which you see before you in that paper, Vilnis, of May 8, 1931?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer this question on the first amendment, freedom of the press, and the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Pauliukas Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Steven Strazdas?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse on the grounds of the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Steven Strazdas identified you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. STEINBERG. Is he here in this courtroom?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that you admonish counsel that his sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise his client. If he persists in violating the rules of this committee, I request that the committee cause him to be forcibly excluded from this room.

Mr. STEINBERG. I just asked if Steven Strazdas is present.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Nellie DeSchaaf? Do you know a person by the name of Nellie DeSchaaf?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Alice Yonik?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Leon Pruseika, P-r-u-s-e-i-k-a?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly look at these two exhibits, which have been identified in this record. The first is an attack upon the Committee of Un-American Activities by the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms. The second is a handbill circulated by The Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press.

Tell this committee, while under oath, what information you have respecting either of those two organizations.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. STEINBERG. One moment.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly keep your voice up so we can hear you.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents previously referred to are designated "De Schaaf Exhibits Nos. 2 and 6," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you known in the Communist conspiracy today as Comrade Mike Zaldakas?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you, while you are under oath, to affirm or deny the fact that you are Comrade Mike Zaldakas, alias Jacob Pauliukas, P-a-u-l-i-u-k-a-s, of the Communist conspiratorial propaganda apparatus in the Chicago area?

Deny that while under oath if that is not true.

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments. I don't want to incriminate myself.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Let the record show that even though you did not have counsel identify himself until you asked several identification questions of the witness, the record ought to show that counsel for the witness has been present in the hearing room throughout—

Mr. STEINBERG. Yes, Your Honor.

Mr. DOYLE. Throughout all of the questioning of the witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, how many times have you left the United States and came back here?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. How many times have you been to Russia or Lithuania?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments. I don't want to incriminate myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you made an application for passports?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse on the same basis to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received any compensation, either directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party?

Mr. PAULIUKAS. I refuse to answer on the same basis, the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, may I request that the various exhibits on this witness, as well as the preceding witness and following witnesses, which shall be used, be the object of a general order by the chairman, that they be appropriately marked and incorporated in the record.

Mr. STEINBERG. I object to the Lithuanian translation.

MR. ARENS. You know that under the rule of the committee your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client.

MR. STEINBERG. Legal objections I have the right to insert.

MR. DOYLE. I make that order.

Witness, before you and your counsel leave, I think, in view of the testimony during the morning, I should read one paragraph of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which refers to the subversive activities control and Public Law 831 of the 81st Congress.

I quote section 2:

SEC. 2. As a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Congress hereby finds that—

(1) there exists a world Communist movement, which, in its origin, its development, and its present practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a worldwide Communist organization.

Do you have any other witness this morning, Mr. Arens?

MR. ARENS. Yes, I suggest we take one more witness.

MR. DOYLE. Thank you, Witness and Counsel.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, to my mind this witness is clearly in contempt, so much so that I move that the subcommittee recommend to the full committee he be cited for contempt.

MR. DOYLE. I will entertain that motion, and I join in that motion.

Let the record show we will recommend to the full committee of the House Un-American Activities Committee that this last witness be cited for contempt of the United States Congress.

MR. ARENS. The next witness will be very brief, I believe, Mr. Chairman.

MR. DOYLE. Who is the next witness?

MR. ARENS. Leon Pruseika, P-r-u-s-e-i-k-a.

MR. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth—keep your hand up—do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. PRUSEIKA. Yes.

MR. DOYLE. Take the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF LEON PRUSEIKA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING G. STEINBERG

MR. ARENS. Please identify yourself—

MR. STEINBERG. I want to point out the witness is 70 years old and has a bad heart.

MR. ARENS. Please—

MR. SCHERER. Are you asking that pictures not be taken?

MR. STEINBERG. Pictures are all right. I just want to apprise this body that, in light of his advanced age and his heart condition, which is very serious, that we sort of moderate our attitude toward him, because something might happen; and I don't want the onus to fall on this committee.

MR. SCHERER. I understand he is not objecting to—

MR. STEINBERG. The films? No, sir.

MR. SCHERER. Photographs being taken of him.

Mr. STEINBERG. He has no objection.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't feel that would hurt his heart condition?

Mr. STEINBERG. No. He is 70 years old and he has been in the hospital as recently as a few months ago.

Mr. DOYLE. He is really, in fact, not very elderly, you know, if he is only 70. Some of the rest of us are not very far from that.

Mr. STEINBERG. I trust we do not have heart conditions.

Mr. DOYLE. Let us proceed, Mr. ARENS.

Mr. ARENS. Identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. My name is Leon Pruseika.

Mr. ARENS. P-r-u-s-e-i-k-a; is that correct?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. And my address is Parnell Avenue, 3627 Parnell Avenue, Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am a newspaperman——

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Working for Vilnis.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I received subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. STEINBERG. Irving G. Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. You are an assistant editor of Vilnis? Is that correct?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am connected with newspapers since 1904.

Mr. ARENS. I do not believe you understood me. You said a moment ago you were editor or something with Vilnis. It was not clear for the record. What is your title with Vilnis?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I want to say this and stress this: I am standing on grounds of the first amendment to the United States Constitution for freedom of the press. I am a newspaperman so you have no right to question me. I believe in freedom of the press.

Mr. ARENS. We certainly do. We would like to ask you now what you said a moment ago on this record about your connection with Vilnis. What is your title with Vilnis?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I won't answer any other questions.

Mr. ARENS. I am asking you to clear the record for us.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am connected with Vilnis and nothing else.

Mr. ARENS. What is your title with Vilnis?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I invoke the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest——

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I invoke the first amendment and the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. In view of the status of this record, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, do you hear? Do you hear me, Witness? I am directing you to answer the question which counsel just asked you as to what your connection is with Vilnis.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I can't be a witness against myself on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer in view of your statement a few questions ago that you are connected with Vilnis. We understood you to say that. We understood you to say that you are connected with Vilnis. We are asking you what your connection with Vilnis is.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I said I am newspaperman, that is all, and nothing else.

Mr. ARENS. I would like the record to be clear that he is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. STEINBERG. What is the outstanding question?

Mr. ARENS. His title with Vilnis or official connection.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PRUSEIKA. All the same argument. From my side, it is fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Where and when were you born?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. You know better than I.

Mr. SCHERER. When were you born and where?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Fifth amendment to the question.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness. Consult with your counsel again there and——

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I can't be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read Lithuanian?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I won't answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest he be ordered to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Are you investigating me or the newspaperman? I said——

Mr. ARENS. We are investigating you, as a person on whom we have information that you are a Communist, sir.

Would you kindly answer the question: Do you read Lithuanian?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. You are investigating me as a newspaperman. I say I have freedom on grounds of the first amendment to the United States Constitution. I am connected with newspaper work since I was 18 years old, and nobody investigated me for my beliefs or my convictions, for my writings.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, under oath, sir, are you now a member of an apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States and overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. STEINBERG. Identify the apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Answer the question.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. The answer is the same grounds. I can't be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. In view of your asking a question about your being a newspaperman, I say this: The United States Congress makes no exception if it has reason to believe any individual is a member of the

Communist program of conspiracy. I want to make this clear to you who are connected with a paper which we believe is Communist-controlled and dominated.

The fact that you are connected with a paper does not exclude you from being investigated, if you are a Communist, by the United States Congress. That is our belief.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. You are investigating me. I am a newspaperman.

Mr. DOYLE. We are not investigating the newspaper. We are investigating the extent to which it may be controlled by identified Communists. That is quite a different thing.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Why don't you investigate such papers like the Chicago Tribune?

Mr. DOYLE. Like what?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Why don't you investigate papers like the Chicago Tribune, for instance?

Mr. STEINBERG. Chicago Tribune, he said.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. The Tribune. Why me? Why shall I make confessions as to why and what I am doing?

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know any Communists on the Chicago Tribune?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. The New York Times there got 1 or 2.

Mr. SCHERER. If you would help us now by telling us the names of any Communists on any paper here, including your own, we would be glad to call them up here and see if we can get some information.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I don't understand why you are asking so many questions when you say you know everything. An informer made a speech about communism, and so on. All this and no discussion comes up—

Mr. LAUTNER. What about the informers on Russia?

Mr. STEINBERG. Are you on the witness stand?

Mr. LAUTNER. I was.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. An investigation, and we can't discuss from every angle this question about farmworkers and minority groups and everything. Now, you have everything in advance, you know; asking the questions, the same, the same, the same, you know; and it makes me nervous. I beg your pardon; but privately, to me, congressional investigator, I ask him the question why no such things happening in France and England, in Italy; why such things are happening here like today?

Mr. SCHERER. Now I have some questions, Witness.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I beg your pardon. You don't have to answer my questions, you know, but certainly this question—

Mr. SCHERER. You have taken the fifth amendment to every question we asked you of importance.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I know.

Mr. SCHERER. You haven't answered any of our questions. Let me ask you a few. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I won't answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question whether or not you are a citizen of the United States. It is a question that we believe is always considered pertinent before any congressional investigation for the purpose of identification. How could it incriminate

you if you are a citizen of the United States? You are not ashamed of it, certainly; if you are—I hope not.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I won't answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer, the question, Witness.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I don't understand the meaning of such questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. The committee knows this—these informers, they know in advance.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Where were you born, Witness? We believe it is very pertinent to know from where the residents of the United States come. What country did you come from? Where were you born?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. You are investigating Lithuanian guy. That is me.

Mr. DOYLE. Investigating what?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Lithuanian.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a Lithuanian? Were you born in Lithuania?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am not Hungarian, you notice.

Mr. SCHERER. I cannot hear you, Witness. You are not Hungarian, did you say?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I am not Hungarian.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born? That is a simple question. We know you are no Hungarian.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Most Lithuanians are from Lithuania.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question of where he was born.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness. You volunteered the information that you were not born in Hungary. Where were you born?

Mr. SCHERER. He had an opportunity to answer. Now——

Mr. STEINBERG. If the Court please——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you refuse to answer?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I won't answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Where do you now live?

Mr. DOYLE. Did you hear the question, Witness? Where do you now live?

Mr. STEINBERG. He already answered that, if the Court please.

Mr. SCHERER. We did not hear him.

Mr. STEINBERG. He did. This is the second answer.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. 3627 Parnell Avenue.

Mr. SCHERER. Chicago?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Well, a few years, I guess.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Twenty years—20 years.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you live before that?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. New York.

Mr. SCHERER. New York?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you lived in New York?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I was connected with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the United States for 6 years. I was editor of the Lithuanian publication and worked together with Sidney Hillman.

Mr. SCHERER. When you worked with Sidney Hillman, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Oh, same, same, same. I beg your pardon. That is too much.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you feeling badly? Do you want a recess?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I don't think you gentlemen are interested in this thing. The last time I got subpoenaed from a congressional committee, it was about a year and a half, I guess, and I was at that time in the hospital—

Mr. SCHERER. Do you want a recess?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. With heart trouble and diabetes.

Mr. STEINBERG. He has diabetes, too.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you feel this hearing is detrimental to your health?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. It is very unhealthy.

Mr. SCHERER. It is what?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Perhaps very unhealthy.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not understand, sir. Did you obtain a doctor's certificate asking that you be excused from this hearing?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. No; I didn't expect that I would be investigated in such a form, you know. It sounds punish—so many questions, you know, and you know everything in advance, all the biography—

Mr. SCHERER. I frankly do not know, Witness, whether you were a member of the Communist Party when you were with Sidney Hillman. I did not know until you said that you were connected with Sidney Hillman.

Mr. PRUSEIKA. He is dead, Sidney Hillman.

Mr. SCHERER. At the time you were connected with him, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. I decline to answer this question.

Mr. SCHERER. You decline to answer?

Mr. PRUSEIKA. Sidney Hillman is dead. He would tell you better about this.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the morning session.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock, same room.

(Whereupon, at 12:43 p. m., March 26, 1957, the hearing recessed to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 1957

(The subcommittee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess, at 2 p. m. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle and Scherer.)

MR. DOYLE. Before we call the next witness, we take pleasure in saying that the committee could not help but notice this morning that the people in the hearing room were very cooperative and were not making any disturbance, either by way of approval or disapproval. We appreciate very much that conduct because the subcommittee is here to work, and purely to work; and we appreciate the cooperation of everyone in the room. I know, of course, you will continue to give that cooperation this afternoon.

I want to take this occasion to again thank the United States marshal's office for being in attendance at the hearings. I hope it will not be necessary for any of the marshals to remove anyone from the room because of disturbance of the hearings.

Are you ready, Mr. Arens, with the first witness?

MR. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Anthony Minerich, kindly come forward.

MR. DOYLE. Will you please raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

MR. MINERICH. Yes, sir.

MR. DOYLE. Thank you. Take the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY MINERICH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING G. STEINBERG

MR. STEINBERG. If the court please, I have a motion here that I would like to present to the court.

MR. DOYLE. Now, counsel, just a minute.

MR. STEINBERG. Judge, would you read my motion before you decide because it is very important and it may deal with holding—

MR. DOYLE. You are entirely in error when you address us as a court. You were here this morning when I explained we are not here as a court; we make no attempt to rule on any legal motions. There is a jurisdiction in which the—

MR. STEINBERG. It is a jurisdictional question, and I appreciate it and—

MR. DOYLE. We will not rule on it.

MR. STEINBERG. Will you read it because there is a danger you may be held in contempt because Mr. Minerich is under the jurisdiction of the court.

MR. DOYLE. Present it to our legal counsel.

MR. STEINBERG. I certainly will. Will you look at it, Your Honor, too?

MR. DOYLE. No; we rely on our legal counsel's advice.

MR. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself as to name, address, and occupation.

MR. STEINBERG. May we have a ruling?

MR. ARENS. Counsel, you are advised again that your sole and exclusive prerogative here is to advise your client on constitutional rights and legal rights.

Kindly identify yourself as to name, residence, and occupation.

MR. MINERICH. My name is Anthony Minerich, I live at 5957 South Justine, Chicago.

MR. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

Mr. MINERICH. I think that the question that the counsel tried to raise, you should look at. I am under the jurisdiction of the court.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness be directed and ordered to answer the outstanding question.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. MINERICH. It is impossible for me to answer the question for three reasons.

Mr. DOYLE. Give the reasons.

Mr. MINERICH. One reason is that I have a case in the courts which is now pending. I am under the jurisdiction of the courts, and I don't think that this committee has a right now to ask me questions because they deal with certain things that you have here before you, and until my case is settled by the court I do not want to answer questions. That is the first reason.

The second reason is that you, yourself, stated in the early part of this meeting that you can't legislate questions dealing with the press. Therefore, basing myself on the first amendment to the Constitution, I do not want to answer the questions.

The third reason is that I invoke the fifth amendment not to answer questions that might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing in response to a subpoena that was served on you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MINERICH. The three reasons that I gave——

Mr. DOYLE. I am directing you, Witness, to answer the questions; answer the last question.

Mr. MINERICH. I say again that I am under the jurisdiction of the courts. I am under the protection of the courts at the present time until my case is settled by the courts.

Mr. DOYLE. If you are under the protection of the court, the court will protect you, but this is a congressional hearing, and we believe it is a pertinent question. If you are under the jurisdiction of the court, the court will protect you. We are not undertaking interference with the jurisdiction of any court. But the purpose of this sort of question——

Mr. MINERICH. The questions may prejudice my rights with the courts.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he is appearing in response to a subpoena that was served on him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. MINERICH. I am here under subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MINERICH. This is my counsel here.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. STEINBERG. Irving G. Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution, and also the questions

which I will continually raise dealing with this document which is before you and which you refuse to even look at.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I so direct you, Witness.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment which states you can't compel me to testify against myself. My case is before the courts, and this hearing will interfere with the due process of the court.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe the answer to the question as to where you were born, would lead to a criminal prosecution of you?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, on the grounds based on the first and fifth amendments that anything that I may say may tend to be used against me to incriminate me, and that I am under the jurisdiction of the courts right now. Until my case is settled, I think the questions you have here you want to ask me will prejudice my case.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question of whether or not he honestly believes the answer to his question, as to place of birth, might lead to criminal prosecution.

Mr. DOYLE. I so direct you, Witness.

Mr. SCHERER. I might say the law requires him to answer that question "Yes" or "No." He cannot invoke the fifth amendment to the question whether or not he is invoking the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question, that the questions are irrelevant here, and that I refuse on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution dealing with the freedom of the press and of the fifth amendment, that which gives me the right to refuse to testify anything that might tend to incriminate me; and, also, again I say that I am under the jurisdiction of the courts, and I think the question you have here will prejudice the whole case, and I do not want to answer the questions now. And the proposal in this here is that my testimony be held in abeyance until the courts have settled the case.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments and also in connection with my appearance as my being under the jurisdiction of the courts.

Mr. ARENS. Please look to the right. Mr. Lautner, will you stand up, please?

Mr. Minerich, this gentleman standing here this morning took an oath, laid his liberty on the line. If he lied, he can be prosecuted and will be prosecuted for perjury. While he was under oath before this committee, he identified you as a person known by him to have been a member of the Communist conspiracy. Look him in the eye now, so we will have no baseless informers, and tell this committee was he lying or telling the truth when he identified you as a Communist?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution, the fifth amendment to the Constitution, and this document which shows you I am under the jurisdiction of the courts and that I can't be compelled here to testify on questions.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you a document, an exhibit which was filed with the postal authorities for Narodni Glasnik, a newspaper published by the Narodni Glasnik Publishing Co., Inc., in which you signed as business manager of this publication.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of the document which you signed and filed with the postal authorities.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MINERICH. Yes. Now, this question deals with the newspaper here?

Mr. ARENS. Did you file that document?

Mr. MINERICH. On the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution, which says that Congress can't legislate a question of the freedom of the press, I refuse to answer that question; and I also invoke the fifth amendment to the Constitution, saying that I don't have to answer here to any questions that might incriminate me.

(Document marked "Minerich Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of November 22, 1935, in which an article appears about this Communist Party Central Committee meeting and lists a number of persons who are identified here as key members, district organizers of the Communist Party, including yourself, Tony Minerich, "coal miners' leader."

Kindly look at this article and tell us whether or not the Daily Worker was truthful in that instance in identifying you as one of the ring leaders of the Communist conspiracy.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MINERICH. Well, I refuse to answer this question on the basis that this is interference with the court, under whose protection and jurisdiction I am right now until my case is settled; also on the basis of the first amendment, which guarantees freedom of the press, in which case you shouldn't legislate any questions, and therefore you shouldn't go into them; and on the basis of the fifth amendment I shouldn't answer questions that would tend to incriminate me.

(Document marked "Minerich Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you the Communist Daily Worker of Friday, March 27, 1936, in which you are identified in an article as one of the section organizers in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Kindly look at that article and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not you are truthfully described in that Communist Daily Worker.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MINERICH. Yes. I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the first amendment, freedom of the press. As I stated before, and you stated also, we have no conflict in that question, you can't legislate questions of the freedom of the press; and, therefore, in my opinion, you can't go into the questions also without a valid reason for it—

Mr. ARENS. You are—

Mr. MINERICH (continuing). And, therefore, under the first amendment to the Constitution, I refuse to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. I take it you are——

Mr. STEINBERG. Let him finish.

Mr. MINERICH. I stated again I am under the jurisdiction of the court. Until the case is settled, I don't want to go into the questions, and I don't think the court wants me to go into the questions, and I don't think you have the right; and, therefore, I invoke the first amendment not testify and I also invoke the fifth amendment which says that I do not have to testify to questions.

(Document marked "Minerich Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, may I ask a question?

Of course, Witness, you know—well know and counsel well knows—if it were fact that the alleged court which you mentioned and keep on mentioning did not want us to question you under this subpoena, it would have been a very simple matter for the distinguished counsel to get an order from that court right in this city prohibiting us from asking you any questions. That court is very promptly available.

Having practiced law 30 years myself, it would not have taken but a few minutes to get an order of the court which you claim to have jurisdiction over you. That court would have stopped us, if it would have wanted to and have been asked to, if it was interference with the court's jurisdiction. So, we do not regard that as a just reason for your not answering a legitimate question.

The other thing you keep mentioning is that we are interfering with the freedom of the press. Again, you know that is in error. You were here this morning, were you not? And you heard me say the primary purpose of the inquiry was not an investigation of the press, but the extent to which Communist Party members controlled, either directly or indirectly, the foreign-language press in the Chicago area.

Congress still maintains, and the courts have ruled, that we have the right under Public Law 601 and the duty to investigate subversive activities, whether it is in control of a newspaper, control of a pulpit, or control of a political office or any place else.

So you cannot claim, in our judgment, interference with your freedom or interference with the freedom of the newspaper for which you might be a business agent or an editor.

We believe that we have evidence that you are a member of the Communist Party. We are going to investigate that because we know that the Communist Party philosophy is in contravention of a free press. It is a controlled press when Communists are in control of it, and it is controlled for the purpose of the Soviet foreign policy. So, when you keep throwing into your answers that it is interference with free press, that is, in our judgment, buncombe.

Mr. ARENS. What is your line of work, please?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, that this is interference with the freedom of the press. You are asking me questions and not asking Congress questions, and I am not answering for Congress; I am answering for myself. You are dealing with newspapers which you have no right, in my opinion.

I invoke the first amendment and refuse to testify on that ground. Also, I invoke the fifth amendment to the Constitution, that I don't have to testify here to any questions that you ask which I believe

will tend to incriminate me or make problems for me in connection with court case that is pending now.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel, if you told this committee truthfully where you are employed, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. MINERICH. I will answer again. I have answered that question, in my opinion, that I refuse to answer it on the basis of the fifth amendment, anything I say here might tend to incriminate me; and also, this case that I have in court and also, again, on the question of the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principal question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. MINERICH. I answer the question the same way I answered it before. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment, anything I say here might be used against me and tend to incriminate me; therefore, I do not want to answer; and I also invoke the first amendment again because there is a question dealing here with newspapers, the question you are asking, you have no right, under the first amendment, to ask. Again I say I am under jurisdiction of the court.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. MINERICH. That question I refuse to answer also on the basis of the fifth amendment, anything I say here might tend to incriminate me. Also, I am invoking the first.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that you direct the witness to tell us whether he is a citizen of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question, Witness.

Mr. MINERICH. I will answer again for you the way I answered before. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the guaranties placed at my behalf by the fifth amendment of the Constitution, anything I might say here might tend to incriminate me, and also that this question that you are asking concerns the very question that is before the court, and I presented the document—my attorney did—for you to look at. Therefore, again, I cannot go into this question.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question again on the basis of the fifth amendment. Anything I might say here might tend to incriminate me. That very question is before the court. Therefore, you have no right. It is my opinion that answering this question will help this committee to be in contempt of the court.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer this question, Witness.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, also the first, and also the reason—

Mr. SCHERER. Were you born in the United States?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment and that this question is now before the courts and until the courts are ready to have decided that question—

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean the question as to where you were born. is before the court? Do you mean to tell me that that question is before the court as to where you were born?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question on the basis——

Mr. SCHERER. You raised a question. I am asking you if the issue before the court is as to where you were born.

Mr. MINERICH. If you ask me, you have to give me a chance to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I hope you answer instead of invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. MINERICH. I will answer in my way.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead and answer.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer on the basis——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you call that an answer when you refuse to answer?

Mr. MINERICH. I tell you again when you ask me again to answer, and I will answer the question in my way.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer on the basis——

Mr. MINERICH. And I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment; anything I said might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, he opened the door.

Mr. MINERICH. This question is before the court at the present time, and I don't think you have the right to go into it now.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, he opened the door. If he had any right to invoke the fifth amendment, which I do not believe he does, as to the question of where he was born, he certainly waived it because he said the issue of where he was born was before the court at this moment. I am asking him to answer the question as to whether or not that issue as to the place of his birth is before the court.

Mr. DOYLE. And I am instructing you, Witness, to answer that question.

Mr. MINERICH. I am refusing to answer it on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. The question before the court is your Communist Party activity, and the question is whether your Communist Party activities deprive you of the citizenship which obtained by naturalization. Is that not the issue before the court?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, that this committee or anybody else can't compel me to give testimony here, under that amendment, that might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you traveled abroad since you came to this country?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you been in Russia?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the fifth amendment to the Constitution which gives me the right not to answer the question, also——

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received any compensation, directly or indirectly, from the Communist Party?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. The fact is you have received such compensation, is it not, Witness?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer the last three or four questions that you just put—because I never did have a chance to complete my answer—on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which gives me the right to refuse to answer any question that I feel might tend to incriminate me, and I refuse also on the basis that that question and many questions now are before the courts, and I want the courts to decide it, and I don't want this committee to go into this question and to prejudice any decisions that might be had.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever passed any information to a Communist agent?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, the first amendment of the Constitution, and also I am telling you again that I have a case before the courts, and I want the courts to settle the case.

Mr. ARENS. Are you one of the proponents of the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MINERICH. I am sorry that I have to answer that question in the same way, the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a document urging the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, published by a Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, and I also lay before you now a document issued by The Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press, room 504, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago 6, Ill., and that is the same address of the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms.

It appears both these committees have the same address.

Kindly look at those documents and tell this committee, while you are under oath, sir, what information you have respecting each of those committees.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MINERICH. Well, I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution; on the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which says I don't have to answer questions which I feel might tend to incriminate me; and, again, on the question, which question is before the courts and let the courts decide.

(Documents previously identified as "DeSchaaf Exhibits Nos. 2 and 6," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us out on this? This room, 504, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago 6, Ill., which is the address of the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms and The Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press, is the same address and same identical room number which the Communist Party used to have here in Chicago.

Can you help us on that?

Mr. MINERICH. I am sorry I can't answer that question. On the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, anything I say here might tend to incriminate me. Freedom of press is involved here. The freedom to publish leaflets, bulletins, and everything; and I think the committee has no right to go into this.

Mr. ARENS. I will ask you about the names of certain of these people who appear here along with your name as an official of Narodni Glasnik. Leo Fisher. Do you know him?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Nicholas Rajkovich, R-a-j-k-o-v-i-c-h. Do you know him?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the guaranties of the fifth amendment to the Constitution and of the first amendment to the Constitution that deals with freedom of the press, speech, and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. John Vidmar, Jr. Do you know him?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution and fifth amendment to the Constitution. People don't need to testify—

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States and overthrow the Government by force and violence?

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution. I refuse on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution, and also I say my case is before the courts and let the courts decide.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, the district court has acted in your case, has it not? The court has found you are not worthy to be a citizen of the United States and ordered you to be denaturalized because of your efforts to overthrow this Government by force and violence.

Mr. MINERICH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment of the Constitution. It is under the jurisdiction of the court. If the court made a decision, and so forth, the decisions are not all finished, the whole case is in the courts. Let's not interfere with the courts and let the court decide. In the end, they will decide the case. That will be the decision, and this committee has no right to try to do something here that will make it, let us say, harder for the courts or prejudice my case before the courts.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. ARENS. John Zuskar, please come forward.

Mr. ZUSKAR. Mr. Chairman, I want no pictures, please. I want no pictures. Let's have a decision here.

Mr. DOYLE. We never interfere with the freedom of the press when it comes to photographing people in public meetings.

Mr. ZUSKAR. This was decided, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. We do not have jurisdiction, as far as the press is concerned, until we have you under oath. Please raise your right hand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ZUSKAR. So help me God.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN ZUSKAR, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LEO BERMAN

Mr. BERMAN. If the chairman please, a point of procedure.

Mr. DOYLE. Beg pardon?

MR. BERMAN. If the chairman please, on a point of procedure?

MR. DOYLE. Yes.

MR. BERMAN. First of all, the Chair did rule earlier that no pictures would be taken of any of the subpoenaed witnesses unless they conceded to it.

MR. DOYLE. After they are under oath.

MR. BERMAN. After they are under oath.

MR. DOYLE. Before, we never interfere with press photography.

MR. BERMAN. Also I want to call to the Chair's attention that I submitted a statement of Dr. Charles Raymond as to Mr. Zuskas's heart condition that he has. I merely present that for your information.

MR. DOYLE. Counsel has it.

MR. SCHERER. Before we go any further now, I think the Chair should ask the photographers to comply with the ruling. No pictures can be taken after the witness has been sworn.

MR. DOYLE. That is right.

MR. SCHERER. Now, let's see the doctor's certificate before we—

MR. DOYLE. I think some of these photographers were not in the room this morning when I made that instruction, but let us please follow that.

MR. SCHERER. Well, the doctor in his certificate does not indicate that this witness' appearance here before this committee would in any way harm him. The certificate reads:

MARCH 22, 1957.

This is to certify that I have treated Mr. John Zuskas of 1510 West 18th Street, Chicago, Ill., on January 17, 1957, January 22, February 1 and March 22, for complaints suggesting the diagnosis of coronary insufficiency.

Electrocardiogram taken on January 22, 1957, substantiates the diagnosis.

The condition is chronic.

(Signed) CHARLES RAYMOND, M. D.

Counsel, you are not contending that his condition is such that it would jeopardize him to appear?

MR. BERMAN. We are appearing. I merely wish to call this to the committee's attention so that we can keep that in mind.

MR. DOYLE. We will be glad to.

(Above letter retained in committee files.)

MR. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

MR. ZUSKAS. John Zuskas, Z-u-s-k-a-s, 55 West Ward Ho, North Lake, Ill.

MR. ARENS. Your occupation?

MR. ZUSKAS. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

MR. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

MR. ZUSKAS. Yes. On the grounds of the first and fifth—

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

MR. ARENS. You got your wires crossed there. I asked if you are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

MR. ZUSKAS. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. ZUSKAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. BERMAN. Leo Berman, 139 North Clark Street, Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Zuskar, I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of a document filed by you with the postal authorities, foreign-language press, Ludova Noviny, L-u-d-o-v-a N-o-v-i-n-y, bearing your signature, and designating you as publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager of this particular publication.

Please look at this document, while you are under oath, and if you will be good enough, verify the authenticity of that document.

Mr. ZUSKAR. I will refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Zuskar Exhibit No, 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. ZUSKAR. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you now two documents which have been identified in this record. One is a printed leaflet by the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms. The other is a 1-page leaflet by The Chicago Committee To Preserve Freedom of Speech and the Press. Both bear the address of room 504 at 208 North Wells Street, Chicago 6, Ill.

Kindly look at those documents and tell this committee, while you are under oath, if you could give us information respecting those two organizations.

Mr. ZUSKAR. I will not answer on the same grounds, the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents previously identified as "DeSchaaf Exhibits Nos. 2 and 6," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. This committee, in anticipation of its visit here to Chicago, was trying to subpoena Calvin Brook who is also identified with your paper. Somehow or other, we just could not find him. Can you tell us where he is?

Mr. ZUSKAR. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. He is not hiding from us, is he?

Mr. ZUSKAR. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. May I have the date, please, of the first exhibit, his statement of ownership of the paper? What was the date of that?

Mr. BONORA. It was filed September 28, 1956.

Mr. DOYLE. 1956.

Mr. BONORA. That is the latest in the file.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Witness and Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. George Wastila, kindly come forward.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WASTILA. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Please take the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE WASTILA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING GEORGE STEINBERG

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WASTILA. George Wastila, 601 Tower Avenue, Superior, Wis. I am an editor.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. WASTILA. I am.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. WASTILA. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. STEINBERG. My name is Irving George Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. With what publication are you connected, please, Mr. Wastila?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I believe that this committee is exceeding its authority, congressional authority, and in so doing is posing a threat to the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment and refuse to answer that question, and I complement my refusal by invoking also the fifth amendment, namely, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel, if you told this committee truthfully the name of the publication with which you are connected, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to what I believe is in excess of congressional authority and which poses a threat to the freedom of the press of our country, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principal question.

Mr. STEINBERG. Would you repeat the question, please?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. Wait until he is through conferring with counsel.

Mr. STEINBERG. Read the question.

(Record read by the reporter.)

Mr. WASTILA. Since I stated that I believe the committee is exceeding its authority and is posing a threat to the freedom of the press of our country, and not wishing to become a part of any such undertaking, I invoke the first amendment and, secondly, I invoke also the fifth amendment, namely, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, we are going to be sure this record is absolutely clear on this point. Unless you honestly apprehend that an answer to our question would supply information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding, you do not have the right to invoke the fifth amendment.

We are now, for the purpose of testing your good faith in the use of the fifth amendment, asking you whether or not you honestly apprehend, if you told this committee truthfully the name of the publication

with which you are identified, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding.

Mr. WASTILA. I repeat, since I don't want to become a party to any undertaking which I believe is posing a threat to freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment, and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest, for clarity of this record, there can be no misunderstanding as to the intent and purposes of these questions, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. In making my order of direction of the witness that you do answer—when you are through consulting your counsel, again I will give you your direction.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, I now direct you again to answer that question which Mr. Arens has directed to you.

Mr. WASTILA. I repeat, since I do not want to become a party to any undertaking which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment, and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment, that portion which says that I do not have to testify to anything that might incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I lay before you two documents which were filed with the postal authorities. The first is for a publication known as T-y-o-m-i-e-s E-t-e-e-n-p-a-i-n, of Superior, Wis., published by the American Finnish Publishers, Inc., in which you are listed as the editor and the managing editor, and you signed this document.

The second is a document filed with the postal authorities for a publication known as N-a-i-s-t-e-n V-i-i-r-i, of Superior, Wis., published by the American Finnish Publishers, Inc., in which you are listed as one of the officials of that publication and which you signed as a representative of that publication.

Look at those two documents and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not those are true and correct reproductions of those documents filed by yourself with the postal authorities. One is described as a weekly and one is described as a daily publication.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say they are Finnish publications?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Have you got the originals?

Mr. BONORA. They are on file with the Post Office Department.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. STEINBERG. Wait a minute. Give us a chance.

Mr. WASTILA. They are smudged here in some spots.

Well, since I don't want to become a party to anything that I believe is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment, that portion which states that I do not have to testify to anything that might tend to incriminate me.

(Documents marked "Wastila Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a party to a conspiracy designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the Government of the United States?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke also the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What other names have you used in your life other than the name pursuant to which you are appearing, George Wastila?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything which I feel is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment, and I also invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Your Communist Party name is Mike Walsh; is it not?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything that I feel is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, would you kindly stand?

Mr. Wastila, this gentleman, standing there to your right, took an oath this morning; and while he was under oath, he laid his liberty on the line. If he lied to this committee, we will see that he is prosecuted for perjury. While he was under oath, he said he knew you, as a certainty, to be a member of the Communist Party. Look him in the face and tell us, was he lying or telling the truth when he identified you as a Communist?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything that I consider is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. You said a little while ago you were in the publishing business or in the editing business, but you would not tell us the name of the paper; is that correct?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything—

Mr. ARENS. Wait a minute. I am just asking you what you said on the record.

Mr. WASTILA. I suggest you get it from the court reporter.

Mr. ARENS. Pursuant to your publishing work, have you been engaged, in the last few months, in some lecturing around the country?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. You have been on an extensive speaking tour all through Michigan, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois; have you not?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything that I consider is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We have here what has been represented to us as a copy of your speaking itinerary. You are scheduled to speak tomorrow in Erie, Pa.; are you not?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to—

Mr. STEINBERG. May I see that?

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, I will advise you for the last time that your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise the witness, and I admonish you to please stay within the rules of this committee.

Mr. WASTILA. May I see it?

Mr. ARENS. Tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not you are scheduled to speak in Erie, Pa., tomorrow.

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of the press in our country——

Mr. DOYLE. You mean freedom of speech in our country.

Mr. WASTILA. Freedom of speech and press, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, the fifth, that states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. On the very next day, on March 28, you are scheduled to speak in Conneaut, C-o-n-n-e-a-u-t, Ohio, are you not?

Mr. WASTILA. My answer is the same.

Mr. ARENS. Maybe the distinguished gentleman from Ohio can tell you if there is a town called Conneaut, Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. Conneaut?

Mr. ARENS. Conneaut. Will you tell this committee where you are scheduled to speak day after tomorrow in Conneaut, Ohio, what club or group you are going to address?

Mr. WASTILA. The answer is the same as to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. On the 29th and 30th you are scheduled to speak at Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. WASTILA. My answer is the same as previously, the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. You are not ashamed of the invitation you are going to accept unless you are going to speak at the behest of the Communist apparatus.

Mr. WASTILA. Well, not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of the press of our country, freedom of speech in our country, I invoke the first amendment; and, secondly, I invoke the fifth, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. I see here on April 1 and 2 you are scheduled to make a couple of speeches here in Chicago.

Could you tell us where you are going to speak and what group you are going to represent and whether or not, when you do speak, you are going to show your true colors as a member of the Communist conspiracy, or masquerade behind some humanitarian organization?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to jeopardize freedom of speech, I invoke my rights under the first amendment; and, secondly, invoke the fifth amendment, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against oneself.

Mr. ARENS. Then I see you are scheduled to speak at Waukegan, Ill., on April 3.

Tell us now before what group you are going to speak at Waukegan on April 3.

Mr. WASTILA. My answer is the same as to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. We do not want to interfere with freedom of speech. Just speak up fully and tell us before whom you are going to speak at West Allis, Wis., on April 4. Is there a group up there that invited you?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything that I consider is endangering the freedom of speech in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment; and, secondly, under the fifth, that portion which states that one does not have to testify against himself.

(Document marked "Wastila Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. From where did you just come to Chicago?

Mr. WASTILA. Not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of speech in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment, and secondly—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. WASTILA. And my answer is the same, that not wishing to be a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of speech in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment, and, secondly, my rights under the fifth.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. And I might add on the further ground the question is irrelevant and has nothing to do with—

Mr. ARENS. You just came from Glassport, Pa., where you were orating there on behalf of Communist objectives, masquerading under the colors of some humanitarian group; is that not true? Deny it under oath if it is not true.

Mr. WASTILA. Since I do not wish to be a party to anything that I consider is endangering the freedom of speech in our country, I invoke my rights under the first; and I invoke my rights under the fifth, that portion which states I do not have to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about your public career, then. You will not tell us about your career with this newspaper. You will not tell us about your career as an orator. Would you tell us about your public career? Have you been a candidate for a public office?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is endangering the freedom of speech in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment and also my rights under the fifth, that portion which states that I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Here is a paper that testifies against you. It is the Communist Daily Worker of New York, Saturday, August 28, 1937, and the heading of this article is: "Communist Party Nominates 80 for City and State Posts."

The New York State committee of the Communist Party yesterday announced a citywide election slate of 80 names in the forthcoming municipal and State contest.

We look down here for assemblymen in New York City and we see "George M. Wastila." Please look at that and see if that refreshes your recollection as to your public career, in which you were sacrificing yourself on the altar of public service.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Well, again, I must answer that since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first and also invoke my rights under the fifth, that portion which states that I don't have to testify against myself.

(Document marked "Wastila Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Who was your predecessor in your present job?

Mr. WASTILA. And my answer is the same as to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. I have another article from the Communist Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, November 30, 1950. I would like to lay this article before you, in which you made a speech vigorously protesting the deportation proceedings which were instituted against Knut Heikkinen, H-e-i-k-k-i-n-e-n [associate editor of the Finnish-language publication Tyomies-Eteenpain] who was your predecessor on this paper.

Please look at that and see if that will refresh your recollection to help this committee in its work.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Heikkinen was being deported for Communist activities, was he not, counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Could you help us on that, please?

Mr. WASTILA. Well, as I have said, since I don't want to become a party to anything which I believe is posing a threat to freedom of speech and the press in our country, I invoke my rights on the first and also my rights under the fifth, that portion which states that I don't have to testify in any way that I might incriminate myself.

(Document marked "Wastila Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Just a moment. Witness, where was this fellow Heikkinen born?

Mr. WASTILA. My answer is the same as to the previous question, since I——

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. And on the further ground that question is totally irrelevant. What does it have to do with my appearing here at this hearings?

Mr. SCHERER. I want to get something more relevant, then. Where were you born?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Well, since I don't want to become a party to anything which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first; and I invoke my rights under the fifth, that portion which states that I don't have to testify——

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to where he was born.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question, Witness. The United States Congress is certainly entitled to know where the people it represents on a national level were born. It certainly could not be incriminating because you were born, even in any foreign country. You had nothing to do with being born.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Well, since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is posing a threat to freedom of speech and press in our country, and I don't want to aid and abet any such effort, I invoke my rights under the first amendment; and I also invoke my rights under the fifth, which states that I don't have to testify to anything.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WASTILA. My answer, I answer that the same way, since I invoke particularly the first amendment, since I don't want to aid and abet anything which I consider is posing a threat to freedom of speech and press in our country; and I further invoke my rights under the fifth which states that I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe, then, that to answer the question as to whether you are a citizen of the United States might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WASTILA. Again I say that since I do not want to become a party to anything which I consider is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer that question; and I invoke my rights also under the fifth.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, because that question can only be answered "yes" or "no."

Mr. DOYLE. I direct that you answer that question, Witness.
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. It cannot incriminate him. An answer to that question cannot incriminate him.

Mr. DOYLE. Apparently everything incriminates him, even being born.

Mr. WASTILA. I was born in Worcester, Mass.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been a champion of free speech?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to anything I think is jeopardizing the free speech and press, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you an article in which you were a champion of free speech, and see if you can help us on this one. This is from the Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, June 8, 1949:

George M. Wastilla, president of the Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society, IWO, sent a protest to Judge Medina against the jailings of the Communist leaders, and urged members of his organization to join in the mass movement for free speech.

Can you tell this committee, while you are under oath, if that was one of the activities in which you engaged in your propagation of free speech and in defense of free speech?

According to the Communist Daily Worker you were championing free speech there, and we would like to have you tell us about it, please.

Mr. WASTILA. Well, again, I must answer, since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer; and, further, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment, that section which states that I don't have to testify against myself.

(Document marked "Wastila Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you think that the jailing of 11 Communist traitors was an interference of the freedom of speech, or were you misquoted in this Communist Daily Worker?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to anything which I believe is jeopardizing freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer and

also my rights under the fifth amendment, that portion which states that I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever made application for a passport, Mr. Wastila?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to anything which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press of our country, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer and also my rights under the fifth, that portion which states that I don't have to give testimony against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever been in Russia?

Mr. WASTILA. I must answer again that since I do not want to become a party or don't want to aid anything which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment and also my rights under the fifth amendment, that portion which states that I do not have to give testimony against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received any compensation for your activities from the Communist Party, either directly or indirectly?

Mr. WASTILA. And I must answer again that since I don't want to become a party or I don't want to help anything which I consider as posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press of our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment and also my rights under the fifth amendment, that portion which states that I do not have to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe, if you told us whether or not you received any compensation for your activities from the Communist Party, that that interferes with freedom of the press?

Mr. WASTILA. Since——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean to tell us that——

Mr. WASTILA. Since I believe the committee is exceeding its authority in these hearings——

Mr. SCHERER. Answer my question and do not get on to any other reason.

Mr. WASTILA. I answer that the same way. Since I don't want to help anything which I think is posing a threat to freedom of speech and press of our country, I invoke my rights under the first and also under the fifth amendment, that portion which states that I do not have to give testimony against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever passed any information or received any information from a Communist agent?

Mr. WASTILA. And I must answer that the same way or as the previous one.

Mr. SCHERER. Or from the Russian secret police?

Mr. WASTILA. I answer that as I did the previous question.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you think that interferes with your freedom of speech, if you answer the question? When we ask you the question whether you ever received or passed any information to the Russian secret police, does it interfere with your freedom of the press and freedom of speech?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is jeopardizing the freedom of speech and press, I

invoke my rights under the first and also my rights under the fifth, which states I don't have to give testimony against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever take an oath of allegiance to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, defend our flag? Have you ever taken any oath of allegiance?

Mr. WASTILA. Since I don't want to in any way abet or aid this hearing, I am going to invoke my rights under the first——

Mr. ARENS. And you are going to be ordered to answer that question. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer that question whether or not he ever took an oath of allegiance to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer that question. I am sure you heard me, Witness.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. You cannot refuse to answer because you do not want to aid and abet this committee. That is not a reason to refuse to answer. There are a lot of people who don't want to help, to aid and abet this committee; and 90 percent of them are Communists, more than that. There are a lot of fellow travelers who don't want to aid and abet this committee.

Mr. WASTILA. Well, I must repeat that since I don't want to become a party to anything which I consider is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press of our country and because, under the right of freedom of speech, I have the right to refuse to answer the question, I, therefore, invoke the first amendment and refuse to answer and also invoke, to further complement the declination, the fifth amendment, which states that I don't have to testify in any way against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us see if this question interferes with your freedom of the press or freedom of speech: Did you ever serve in the armed services of the United States?

Mr. WASTILA. Since this is part of that hearing which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press in our country, which I don't want to aid in any way, I am going to invoke my rights under the first amendment and refuse to answer——

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WASTILA (continuing). And I also invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean it would incriminate you to tell this committee whether or not you ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States and that it would interfere with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech to tell us whether you ever served as a member of the Armed Forces of the United States? Do you mean to tell us that, Witness? How silly can we get?

Mr. WASTILA. I do not have to furnish links of evidence against myself in any way under the fifth amendment, and I invoke my rights under the fifth and decline to answer that question: but also because I do not want in any way to aid and abet a hearing which I believe is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and press of our country and, therefore, I invoke my rights under the first, also.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question whether he ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct you to answer the question. I have never known of even a Communist pleading in good faith that service in the United States Armed Forces would incriminate him.

You see, some of us do not believe that service with the United States Government incriminates a man. We do not believe it incriminates you if you are proud of being a citizen of the United States. Is that plain enough?

I instruct you to answer.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Well, as I have stated so many times, since I do not want to become a party, do not want to help in any way something which I believe is jeopardizing freedom of speech and press of our country, I refuse to answer and I invoke my rights under the first; and, secondly, since I do not want to answer anything which is going to open up whole series of other questions, I invoke my rights under the fifth and decline to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean you are afraid we are going to ask you something about illegal activities while you were a member of the Armed Forces? Is that the area that you are afraid we will open up if you answer the question that you did serve in the Armed Forces of the United States? Is that what you mean?

Mr. WASTILA. Again, I repeat that since I do not want to become a party to or to help anything which I believe is jeopardizing the freedom of speech and press of our country, I invoke my rights under the first and refuse to answer, and I also invoke my rights under the fifth, which states that I do not have to testify to anything against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions. It is obvious what is happening.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask just a couple of questions, please?

Your stock answer to most of these questions has been, in substance, to the effect that this committee of the United States Congress is operating in a line which would interfere with the freedom of press and freedom of speech; is that not correct? Do I so understand that that is your plea, that that is your position?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, let me be frank with you. Therefore, your claiming that privilege, if you do it in good faith, means that when the United States Congress, again this year by unanimous vote of the House of Representatives, approved the continuation of this committee—House Committee on Un-American Activities and, therefore, this subcommittee—and unanimously approved the budget necessary to pay the expenses of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, you take the position that every Member of the United States House of Representatives who voted unanimously for this committee and the budget did so knowing that they were interfering with the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech; is that a fair statement? Is that your position?

Mr. WASTILA. My position is that this committee, by its actions, is posing a threat to the freedom of speech and the press of our country; and, for that reason, I have invoked and again invoke my rights under the first amendment and declined to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. You were here this morning, were you not? Were you here this morning and did you hear me read my statement?

Mr. WASTILA. I was.

Mr. DOYLE. Making it, I think, crystal clear we are not going into jurisdiction or freedom of the press here, but merely to the extent that known Communists have been identified to us by Mr. Lautner, which includes you and others who have been identified by him and others as known Communists—we are going into the extent to which identified Communists control the foreign-language press.

You seem to overlook that, and that is the limit of our purpose in this hearing. We do not hesitate to question you, sir, having been identified to us as an active Communist, as you have been, of record, by folks under oath. We do not hesitate to question you.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. So you volunteered the statement in the first 3 or 4 minutes—will you please listen to me, Counsel, while I am——

Mr. STEINBERG. I am sorry. Excuse me for interrupting you.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I am entitled to have the witness hear my question.

Therefore, we do not hesitate to question you, sir, because you volunteered the information that you were an editor of a foreign-language paper. You volunteered that and the record will so show, I am sure.

Mr. WASTILA. May I correct the statement, Chairman? I volunteered that I was an editor.

Mr. DOYLES. Well, all right. Of what paper are you an editor, as long as you volunteered that? You opened up the subject, and I have a legal right to ask you of what paper are you editor?

Mr. WASTILA. And I answer in the same way: That since I don't want to become a party or to help anything which I believe is jeopardizing the freedom of speech and press of our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment and decline to answer, and also my rights under the fifth—that portion which states that I do not have to testify to anything against myself.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you do not believe——

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. I stand interrupted again by counsel.

Mr. STEINBERG. I am sorry, Mr. Doyle, but there are certain things——

Mr. DOYLE. This is not a court. Being born in this country you cannot help but be a native-born American citizen—some of them are not proud of it. You cannot help it; you were born in Massachusetts. But you take the position that your own United States Congress has no right, under Public Law 601 or under the subversive activities control law, to find out the extent to which any of its newspapers—and it happens to be now the foreign-language papers—are controlled by the Communist conspiracy. That is your position, is it not? You claim that interfering——

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. Wait a minute, Counsel, let me finish. I am not asking him to answer before he gets your wise counsel.

Mr. STEINBERG. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me finish my question. You take the position, therefore, that even though the United States Congress has mani-

mously declared, which it has time and again, made a finding that the Communist Party in the United States is a conspiracy to overthrow—you take the position that the United States Congress has no right to find the extent to which that foreign ideology is undertaking to control our newspapers, especially now the foreign-language newspapers. That is your position, is it not?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WASTILA. Well, Mr. Chairman, I don't want to go into the question of the whole Congress or of the laws. I do not question the rights of Congress, nor do I question the laws of our country. I do question the methods of this committee, and it is this very hearing which I believe is posing a threat to freedom of speech and the press of our country; and for that very reason, since I do not want to aid and abet in any way something which I consider is posing such a threat, it is for that very reason that I invoke my rights under the first—

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask you this: You have been identified right here; in other words, we presented the witness, under oath, who identified you as a Communist Party member, personally known to him. You have not denied it. We have given you the opportunity, and give you the opportunity again, in the presence of your counsel, right here and now, if you want to deny it under oath. We take the position, sir, that you have been identified as a Communist wheelhorse, as a Communist Party leader in your own State and neighboring States, that you are going around certain States giving Communist Party speeches. You do not deny that.

Mr. WASTILA. What is the question?

Mr. DOYLE. Now, do you take the position that the United States Congress and this committee today have no right to call you in under Public Law 601 and find out the extent to which you, an identified Communist, control the newspapers of which you are an editor? We are assigned, under Public Law 601, which I hold in my hand, to find the extent to which subversive people and programs control and hold any newspaper or anything else. And you are in a position of control of a Finnish newspaper, I assume from what you have said.

Mr. WASTILA. Well, I believe anybody could—you could call in anybody from the Chicago Tribune or Chicago Daily News and put him in the same position that I am, and then throw the questions at him.

Mr. DOYLE. We would not unless he had been identified, as you have, as an active Communist. If we get that identification, we will call in anybody in the performance of our duty, no matter in what paper he is a controlling factor. It does not make any difference to us. Our duty is the same.

You happen to be editor, and identified as a Communist—of a foreign-language newspaper and that is why you are here, because the foreign-born people of the first and second generation, thousands of them, do not read English yet and they take hook, line, and sinker anything you write in the Finnish language about our Government and our processes, just as that young lady did this morning, copy a dastardly attack on our Armed Forces during the Korean war, and her readers swallowed it hook, line, and sinker because most of them could not read English or, if they did, they believed it because it appeared in the paper.

That is why we are here. You know very well why we are here, and the fact that the United States House of Representatives keeps on

authorizing this committee's budget by unanimous vote shows what the United States Congress thinks of our duty. And I want to say to you that work on this committee is no picnic. It is no pleasurable duty, I assure you, to call men, like you, who have been identified to us by responsible American citizens as Communists and put you under oath and try to get you to help your Government instead of weakening it and destroying it. This is no picnic, sir.

When we find men who take 2 or 3 or 4 different names in the course of a few years, we understand. We are not in kindergarten.

Two and two make four, even if you or someone else is testifying.

Will you identify, now, what this committee has done today that is violating your right as an identified Communist, wherein have we violated your right as an editor? Tell us. You have charged us with that. Go ahead and tell us. What right of yours have we violated, as an identified Communist editor of a foreign-language newspaper? We are not interfering with the freedom of the press. But we are going to keep on interfering with your freedom to do as you please as an identified Communist to misinform and miseducate the foreign-language readers of your vicinity. We cannot do less than that under our legal assignment. If we did less than that, we should get off this committee. But it still is no picnic. It is a hard job, an unpleasant job.

Mr. ARENS. Do you suppose we have interfered with the prospect of a good audience at your next several speaking engagements over the country by this testimony in which you have been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy? Could you help us on that?

Mr. WASTILA. Counsel, since I do not want to become a party to anything which I consider is jeopardizing the freedom of speech and press in our country, I invoke my rights under the first amendment and decline to answer and also under the fifth amendment, that portion that states I don't have to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. It should be pointed out that he can now continue as he has in the past to publish the Finnish newspaper and include in it the same kind of material that he has always included, that he can continue to make his speeches over this country, nobody is going to stop him. All this committee is doing is showing to the people who read your paper—and they have a right to know—and the people who listen to you, who you are.

Mr. DOYLE. Then I want to do as I almost always do and that is to urge you to get out of whatever Communist Party relationship you have and quit feeding your people that garbage. Make your form of government stronger instead of weaker. Encourage your foreign-language readers to be immensely proud they are in this country, instead of finding fault in a destructive manner with our Government, our democratic processes, as the young lady did this morning. She accused, in effect, the Chicago Congressmen of being "so-called representatives of democracy," making light of our representative form of government, making light of our democratic processes. Why do you not boost it instead of hurting it?

Mr. STEINBERG. Are we excused?

Mr. ARENS. Next witness, Mr. Chairman, and I will spell his name because it is difficult for me to pronounce it—W-l-a-d-i-s-l-a-w K-u-c-h-a-r-s-k-i.

Mr. DOYLE. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you and please take the chair.

TESTIMONY OF WLADISLAW KUCHARSKI, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, PEARL M. HART

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Wladislaw Kucharski.

Mr. ARENS. Keep your voice up. We cannot hear you.

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I am sorry. It is my voice. I have bronchitis.

Mrs. HART. He has bronchitis. Keep your voice up. Do the best you can.

Mr. ARENS. What is your name, please?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Wladislaw Kucharski.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence. Where do you live?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Detroit.

Mr. ARENS. Where in Detroit?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. You have my address. It is where the subpoena was delivered.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us your address. Where do you live?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. 5854 Chene Street.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell Chene?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. C-h-e-n-e.

Mrs. HART. C-h-e-n-e.

Mr. ARENS. C-h-e-n-e. Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Journalist.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mrs. HART. Pearl M. Hart, 30 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I decline to answer on the first amendment to the Constitution, also on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. We want to lay before you now 2 or 3 documents. The first document is a photostatic reproduction of a statement which you filed and signed with the postal authorities as editor and owner of Glos Ludowy of Detroit, Mich., identified as a foreign-language publication, in the Polish language. And there is your signature.

The second document is a document filed with the State of Michigan, pursuant to certain of their laws up there, for license which you filed as editor and owner of the *Glos Ludowy* Association, the publishers of *Glos Ludowy*.

Kindly look at those documents and see if you will be good enough, while under oath, to verify their authenticity.

(Documents marked "Kucharski Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I decline to answer this question on the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Does the number 55101 mean anything to you—55101?

Think a little while about that and see if that means anything to you, 55101.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I don't understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you want to reflect on it a little bit, 55101. That was your Communist Party card number, was it not?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall it? If you do not, just say I don't recall it.

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a woman by the name of Bereniece Baldwin?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Bereniece Baldwin told this committee that she knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Was she lying or was she telling the truth?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the first and on the fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. We have information to the effect that you have received over \$10,000 in the course of a 3-year period from the Communist Party for the publication of your paper. Can you help us on that?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the first amendment and on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Boleslaw Gebert?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Boleslaw Gebert. He was formerly an official of your paper, was he not, but is now an official of the Communist Polish Government in Poland.

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution and first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. When were you last in Poland?

Mr. SCHERER. What was that last question?

Mr. ARENS. When did you last go to Poland?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer on the ground of the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I was born in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. On 25th of August in 1883.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. On August 11, 1912.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen by naturalization?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I had been naturalized in District 14, New York, the first of February 1926.

Mr. ARENS. And when you were naturalized, did you take an oath of allegiance to support and defend the Constitution of the United States?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. And, at the time you took that oath of allegiance, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. No.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. No; I——

Mr. ARENS. You said "No."

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I said on the grounds of the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Let the record be clear. When you took the oath of allegiance and became a citizen of the United States were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Are you at this moment a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I again answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. We have a copy of the Communist Daily Worker of Wednesday, March 5, 1941, in which your name appears—and after it "Detroit, Mich."—as one of a number of people joining in a statement on behalf of the Communist Party. Kindly look at that document and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether that clearly and accurately recites the facts about your participation in that enterprise.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I decline to answer this on the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(Document marked "Kucharski Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the first amendment to the Constitution, and the fifth, too.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Alice M. Kocel, K-o-c-e-l?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution, and the first amendment, too.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Bocho, B-o-c-h-o, whose last name is M-i-r-c-h-e-f-f, of Detroit; Bocho Mircheff?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refused to answer on the grounds of the first amendment to the Constitution and on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Who accompanied you to Chicago when you came here?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. This time?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Did you come by yourself or did you come with other people?

Mr. KUCHARSKI. I refuse to answer on the first amendment and fifth amendment to the Constitution, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. In connection with the testimony of previous witnesses and before we call the next witness, may I call attention to the fact that in the Chicago Daily Tribune for Tuesday, March 26, 1957, part I, page 2, second column, there appears this news release from Washington, dateline March 25:

A Federal district court today held that the first amendment, guaranteeing press freedom, does not bar congressional inquiries into Communist infiltration of newspapers.

The judge said:

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals already has ruled that the freedom-of-press amendment does not bar congressional inquiry in the mediums of mass communications.

It is very appropriate to read that decision by the distinguished Federal judge, yesterday in Washington, on a contempt case before a congressional committee, the judge expressly ruling on the point, apparently under this dateline.

So, the first amendment, which was pleaded as a bar by the witness for this one at least, does not bar congressional committees from inquiring into Communist infiltration in the newspapers, and that, of course, is all we are intending and trying to do in this hearing today and tomorrow.

I have no question of the witness.

Thank you, Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Bocho, B-o-c-h-o, last name is Mircheff, M-i-r-c-h-e-f-f.

Mr. DOYLE. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Have a seat in the witness chair by your counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF BOCHO MIRCHEFF, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
PEARL M. HART**

Mr. ARENS. Would you please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. My name is Bocho Mircheff, 17375 Orleans, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. ARENS. I do not believe we got that address. Give it to us again, please.

Mrs. HART. 17375 Orleans, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. ARENS. O-r-l-e-a-n-s?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I think this question is not pertinent to my case, so I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be directed and ordered to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct and order you to answer that question, Witness.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I decline to answer, relying on my rights on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mrs. HART. Pearl M. Hart, 30 North La Salle Street, Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, Mr. Mircheff?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Bulgaria.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. 1898.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. December 1918.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were you naturalized?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. In the District Court of Michigan.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. 1938.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were naturalized?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I refuse to answer, relying on my rights on the fifth amendment and also on the first amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to invite your attention to two exhibits here.

First is a photostatic reproduction of a document, filed by yourself or by your paper, the *Narodna Volya*, of Detroit, Mich., in which you identify yourself, and are identified along with others, as an official of that paper—as managing editor of that paper. The second is a document entitled “Mircheff Tells Them Off.” “On January 26, 1954, Bocho Mircheff, business manager of ‘*Narodna Volya*’” tells off all the people of the Immigration Service.

This was all under the auspices of the Bulgarian-American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Look at those two documents, if you please, Mr. Mircheff, and see if you will be good enough to verify their authenticity while you are under oath.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Since I don't want to be a party that would violate the freedom of speech and press, I decline to answer this question, relying on my rights on the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

(Documents marked “Mircheff Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2,” respectively and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I decline, the same answer as before—I decline to answer, relying on my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. This morning Mr. Lautner took an oath before this committee and swore he knew you as a Communist. That is a pretty serious charge these days, because we all know Communists are traitors to this country. Was this man lying when he identified you as a Communist traitor?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, what part of this is a question?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the witness be directed to answer that question and not parry with me.

Mr. DOYLE. I think the question was pretty clear. I instruct you to answer.

Mrs. HART. May I make a remark to the chairman, please, very respectfully?

I think it would help these proceedings very materially if the questions were limited to questions and not have personal observations added to them.

Mr. SCHERER. With or without the personal observation, I am sure the witness' answer is going to be, “I decline to answer.”

Mrs. HART. Then I think the question ought not be asked originally.

Mr. ARENS. You know your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client.

Mrs. HART. I was addressing myself to the chairman, if you don't mind, Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you ask the same question, again, or have the reporter read it, Mr. Arens, please?

Mr. SCHIERER. May I restate it so you will know the question. Mr. Lautner identified you, under oath, as a member of the Communist Party. Was Mr. Lautner telling the committee the truth when he so identified you?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I refuse to answer the question, relying on my rights on the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Mircheff, as a witness before this committee, you are entitled to certain witness' fees, and it is necessary for you to sign a voucher. In order that there be no misunderstanding what my objective and purpose is, I ask you if you will sign a voucher now for your pay as a witness so that we may have a comparison of signatures, to compare that signature with the signature which appears, "Bocho Mircheff," on a Communist Party nominating petition. So there will be no sense of entrapment or misunderstanding of my purpose, I lay before you a photostatic reproduction of that petition bearing your signature.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I am not ready to sign my voucher yet.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that if and when this witness signs this pay voucher that that part of the pay voucher, bearing his signature, be incorporated in the body of the record so that there may be a comparison of signatures.

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered. The witness might like to give his witness fee to the American Red Cross or something like that.

(Documents marked "Mircheff Exhibits Nos. 3 and 4," respectively, follow :)

PETITION

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, duly registered electors of the State of Michigan, residing at the place set opposite our names, hereby declare our intention to organize the Communist Party and respectfully request the Secretary of State in accordance with Section 4, Chapter 7, Part 4 of Act No. 351, Public Act of 1925 and as amended by Act 282, Public Act of 1939, to receive the certificate and vignette of our party, tendered herewith, for filing, and place the names of our candidates on the ballot at the November, 1940 presidential and state election.

NAME	ADDRESS	POST OFFICE	DATE OF SIGNING
1. Peter Paycheff	17418 Flaming	Detroit	3-2-40
2. Raina Markoff	1310 E. Terring St.	Detroit	3-2-40
3. Cecile Michieff	102 E. Ferry	Detroit	3-2-40
4. Nanna Lazaroff	1661-16th St.	Detroit	3-2-40
5. Louis Baranovitch	753 2nd Ave.	Detroit	3-2-40
6. Sam Sora	2912 1/2 Madison Ave.	Detroit	3-2-40
7. Bronco Michieff	957 Kirby E.	Detroit	3-2-40
8. Theodore Eronoff	41 Forest St.	River Rouge	3-2-1940
9. Ephraim Chubov	3026 + 17th St.	Detroit	3-2-1940
10. Christ Lovsky	1590 Ash St.	Detroit	3-2-1940
11. Patre Paraff	5832 Richard	Detroit	3-2-1940
12. Peter Selvey	7605 Mich.	Allen	3-4-40
13. Boris Shupst	2402 Brooklyn	Detroit	3-4-40
14. John Karsjoff	6817-18 St.	Detroit	3-2-40
15.			

CERTIFICATE OF CIRCULATOR

I hereby certify that I personally circulated the above petition and that I believe the persons who signed the same, were, at the time of signing, residents of the City or Township named and duly registered electors therein.

Elaine Markoff
Circulator

J. E. Crockett
Circulator's Address

Subst. Markoff

*(To be filled out and submitted in duplicate.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

VOUCHER

(Do not write in this space)
H. of R.
Vo. No.

(Do not write in this space)

TO Bocho Mircheff, DR.

Address 17375 Orleans

Detroit, Michigan

Appropriation

H. Res. 117, 85th Cong.

TOTAL

4876

I CERTIFY that the above bill is correct and just, and that payment therefor has not been received.

*DO NOT SIGN IN DUPLICATE

(Bill must be completely filed in before certification by payee, and there must not be any erasure or alteration whatever.)

By

Bocho Mircheff

I CERTIFY that the above articles have been received in good condition and in the quality and quantity above specified, or the services performed as stated, and that they are in accordance with the orders therefor; that the prices charged are just, reasonable, and in accordance with agreement.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities
(Title)

Mrs. HART. He would still have to sign for it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. He ought to be willing to sign for it if it amounts to a donation to the American Red Cross, I would think.

Mr. ARENS. There is no other organization to which you would be disposed to make a donation at this time besides the Red Cross, is there?

Mrs. HART. You don't have to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you whether or not you have ever been president of the Bulgarian-American People's League.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I decline to answer this question, relying on my rights on the first and fifth amendments to the constitution.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of a call to a Michigan State conference for civil rights [April 1 and 2, 1949, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress] in which you are identified as president of the Bulgarian-American Peoples League.

I ask you if you will be good enough to verify the authenticity of that document.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. While he is looking, Mr. Counsel, I want to ask you a question.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Mircheff Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Counsel—our counsel.

Mrs. HART. Oh, pardon.

Mr. SCHERER. Is the Bulgarian newspaper, with which this witness has been identified, printed in English or in Bulgarian?

Mr. ARENS. It is printed in Bulgarian.

I would like to ask you now the names of some other people identified with the paper and see if you can help us.

Smeale Voydanoff, S-m-e-a-l-e V-o-y-d-a-n-o-f-f, who is identified in this document we exhibited to you as president of Narodna Volya. Could you help us with that? Do you know him?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Stancho Dimitroff, S-t-a-n-c-h-o D-i-m-i-t-r-o-f-f. Do you know him?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Nicholas Markoff. Do you know him?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you are familiar with the atrocities in Hungary, are you not?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, this question is not pertinent to the subject matter.

Mr. SCHERER. It is real pertinent. This is a real pertinent question.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. And I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States which

guarantees freedom of the press and free speech and also the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. Can you read English?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mrs. HART. Tell them. I don't know.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you read the newspapers in this country, and magazines?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Naturally.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say "naturally"?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I do read.

Mr. SCHERER. During the months of November and December of last year and January of this year, have you read in the newspapers of this country and in the magazines, accounts of the atrocities committed by the Russians in Hungary?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I have read newspapers.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you answer my question.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. What is your question?

Mr. SCHERER. I thought it was clear. I will repeat it again. Have you read—

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I have read the newspapers.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you read in those newspapers accounts of the atrocities committed by the Russians in Hungary during the months of last November and December?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, but this is not pertinent to the subject matter.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness.

Mrs. HART. May I ask the Chair to rule upon whether or not what he means is pertinent to the subject of the inquiry.

Mr. SCHERER. It is a preliminary question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I assume it is preliminary by Mr. Scherer because he is a very experienced and brilliant lawyer.

Mr. SCHERER. Not brilliant, but experienced.

Mr. DOYLE. He knows how to lay the foundation.

Mrs. HART. He is very modest at the moment.

Mr. DOYLE. That is his habit.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I have read what the papers said about Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to know whether or not, in this Bulgarian newspaper of yours, you have ever printed one line condemning the Russians' actions in Hungary.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I am not responsible what is printed in our paper, so I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you are not responsible for what is printed in "our" paper? Then I ask you, as a matter of fact, whether or not if it is not a fact that in your paper not one line was ever printed condemning the actions of the Russians with reference to the massacres that took place in Hungary.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I said—when I said “our paper,” I am meaning Hungarian papers.

Mr. SCHERER. I am talking about the specific paper, and I cannot pronounce the name of it, but the one in which you register as managing editor.

Mr. ARENS. Managing editor of Narodna Volya.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. My answer is I don't control what is printed in that paper, Narodna Volya.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me see that. Whether you control what is printed in the paper or not, I am asking you, as a matter of fact, whether this newspaper, this Bulgarian newspaper, with which you are identified as the managing editor, ever printed one line condemning the Russian atrocities in Hungary.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I do not control what is printed in our paper.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand. You said that.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. In our papers, so I don't—

Mr. SCHERER. Assuming you do not control what is printed in your papers, I am asking you whether or not this paper, Narodna Volya—how do you pronounce that, Mr. Counsel?

Mrs. HART. Tell them how to pronounce it.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Narodna Volya.

Mr. SCHERER. Narodna Volya.

Mrs. HART. You can't do it, Mr. Congressman—V-o-l-y-a.

Mr. SCHERER. In what capacity are you identified with that paper?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I refuse to answer this question, relying on my constitutional rights under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. You saw this document which names you as the managing editor of that paper. Is this document correct in so naming you?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I refuse to answer this question on the same basis, the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Now we get back to my original question. Has the newspaper N-a-r-o-d-n-a V-o-l-y-a—has this Bulgarian newspaper printed one word condemning the actions of the Russians in Hungary?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, since I am not in control of what is printed in that paper, I will not answer this question. You could have translators translate and find out what has been printed.

Mr. SCHERER. I respectfully submit, Mr. Chairman, that he should be directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question. Whether or not you are in control of the paper is not the question. The question is whether or not that particular newspaper has printed, as my colleague says even one line. You have read the newspapers, of course, with which you are connected.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Sir, I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. You have not read your own paper in connection with the Hungarian revolt?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. My answer is just that I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't know?

Mr. SCHERER. That newspaper is printed in Bulgarian, is it not?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. SCHERER. That newspaper is printed in Bulgarian language, is it not?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. It is a Bulgarian-language newspaper.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And there are many Bulgarians here in the United States who cannot read English, is that not true? You know that of your own knowledge, do you not?

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I assume.

Mr. SCHERER. Not that you assume. You know that, as a matter of fact.

Mr. MIRCHEFF. I think there are.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make this one observation?

My country, my Nation, the United States of America, gave me the honor and privilege of being born in it. It honored and trusted you when it granted you naturalization papers. Why do you not return the favor and actually practice the habit of renouncing loyalties to foreign ideologies, for instance, the Communist program and Communist support in the Bulgarian papers with which you are connected, even though you do not control it? Why do you not encourage them to strengthen the American way of life instead of the Communist way of life?

My father was an immigrant, and I am proud of it.

It always gets me when a man like you comes to my country and prospers financially, and then you become naturalized and refuse to take every chance to strengthen the Government that gives you prosperity and asylum.

Why do you not repay the United States of America and make it stronger instead of weaker. Assuming that you are a member of the Communist Party because that is the sworn testimony, why do you not get rid of that garbage in your experience and come out clean in support of our American form of government instead of weakening it, because that is all the Communist Party does, to weaken and destroy, disrupt, and try to dissolve?

It seems to me that you, as a foreign-born, naturalized citizen, owe something, besides making money, to the United States people who gave you a place in which to be prosperous.

If I lectured you, that is what I meant to do in a dignified way because I feel it very keenly. Why do you not call it quits with the party and do something else that strengthens instead of weakens?

Thank you very much.

Mrs. HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. Nicholas Markoff, N-i-c-h-o-l-a-s M-a-r-k-o-f-f.

Mr. DOYLE. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Take the witness chair.

**TESTIMONY OF NICHOLAS MARKOFF, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, PEARL M. HART**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, address, and occupation.

Mr. MARKOFF. Nicholas Markoff, 1929 Outer Drive.

Mr. ARENS. I did not understand.

Mrs. HART. 1929 Outer Drive (Detroit).

Mr. ARENS. Who was the man who just left this witness chair? Could you tell us?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mrs. HART. I would like to address the chairman for a moment, please.

Mr. DOYLE. No. Go ahead, please, counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly answer the question. Who was the man who just left the witness chair?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. If he knows—if he saw him.

Mrs. HART. If the Chair please, the man was here and announced his name and address—

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, you know you are in violation of the rules of the United States Congress.

Mrs. HART. I am not violating the rules of the United States Congress.

Mr. ARENS. Answer the question.

Mrs. HART. And I don't have to have you talk to me that way in that tone of voice.

Mr. ARENS. Witness, please answer the question. Who was the man who just left the witness chair?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, identify yourself, please.

Mrs. HART. Pearl M. Hart, 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill., State 2-3213, counsel, for the record.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, sir?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You are employed, are you not, as one of the officers and treasurer of the publishing firm of Narodna Volya?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of the statement which you filed with your signature with the postal authorities, filed under oath, in which you identified yourself as one of the officers of the Narodna Volya of Detroit, Mich., a foreign-language publication.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether that is a true and correct reproduction of the document which you signed under oath.

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

(Document previously identified as "Mircheff Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I lay before you a statement of ownership, which is required by the postal laws, published in your paper, Narodna Volya, in which you identify yourself as editor of Narodna Volya.

Please look at that and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of the statement of ownership appearing in your paper.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

(Document marked "Markoff Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. MARKOFF. Bulgaria.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. MARKOFF. 1898.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. MARKOFF. 1923.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. MARKOFF. 1923.

Mr. ARENS. 1923?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you naturalized?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Mr. MARKOFF. November 19, 1928.

Mr. ARENS. 1928?

Mr. MARKOFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. MARKOFF. In Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mrs. HART. Niagara Falls, N. Y., where married couples used to go, you know.

Mr. ARENS. When you were naturalized as a citizen of the United States, were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know George Pirinsky?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer on the same basis, the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you been back to the old country since you came to the United States?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. We want to inform you that, as a prerequisite to obtaining your pay as a witness from this committee, it is necessary for you to sign a pay voucher; but in order that there be no misunderstanding about what our objective is, I have here a petition signed by yourself for the Communist Party, bearing your signature. I am going to ask you if you will now, while you are under oath, sign in the appropriate place on the pay voucher so that there may be a comparison of signatures.

I want no misunderstanding of our objective—so there may be a comparison of signatures between the signature we have on this petition of the Communist Party and your signature on the voucher.

I ask you now to kindly sign the pay voucher.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I will sign it later.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that if, as, and when this witness signs the pay voucher, that part of the pay voucher bearing his signature be incorporated in the body of the record, for the purpose of comparison of signatures.

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a petition of the Communist Party, bearing your signature, Nicholas Markoff, 1310 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit, and ask you if you would be good enough to verify the authenticity of that document.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

(Documents marked "Markoff Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3," respectively, follow.)

PETITION

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, duly registered electors of the State of Michigan, residing at the place set opposite our names, hereby declare our intention to organize the Communist Party and respectfully request the Secretary of State in accordance with Section 4, Chapter 7 Part 4 of Act No. 351, Public Act of 1925 and as amended by Act 262, Public Act of 1939, to receive the certificate and vignette of our party, tendered herewith, for filing, and place the names of our candidates on the ballot at the November, 1940 presidential and state election.

NAME	ADDRESS	POST OFFICE	DATE OF SIGNATURE
1. John D. Markoff	2503 Myrtle St.	Detroit	3/20/40
2. John C. Latham	1348 Grand St.	Detroit	3/22/40
3. William L. Latham	2662 1/2 St. St.	Detroit	3/22/40
4. Nicholas Markoff	1310 E. Ferry Ave.	Detroit	4-5-40
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			
13.			
14.			
15.			

CERTIFICATE OF CIRCULATOR

I hereby certify that I personally represented the above signers, and I believe the persons who signed the names, were, at the time of signing, residents of the City or Township named and duly qualified electors therein.

William L. Latham
Circulator

4835 Grand Street
Circulator's Address

* (To be filled out and submitted in duplicate.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES VOUCHER

(Do not write in this space)
H. of R.
Vo. No.

TO Nicholas Markoff, DR.

Address 1929 Outer Drive

Detroit, Michigan

(Do not write in this space)

Appropriation

H. Res. 117, 85th Cong.

Total

48 76

I CERTIFY that the above bill is correct and just, and that payment therefor has not been received.

*DO NOT SIGN IN DUPLICATE

(Bill must be completely filled in before certification by payee, and there must not be any erasure or alteration whatever.)

Payee Nicholas Markoff

By

I CERTIFY that the above articles have been received in good condition and in the quality and quantity above specified, or the services performed as stated, and that they are in accordance with the orders therefor; that the prices charged are just, reasonable, and in accordance with agreement.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities
(Title)

MARKOFF EXHIBIT No. 3

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the same basis, the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever serve in the Armed Forces of this Government?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. No.

Mr. ARENS. In 1946 did you go to Yugoslavia?

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, witness.

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Is your paper an instrumentality of the Communist propaganda apparatus?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I decline to answer this question on the same grounds, the first and fifth amendments, sir, to the United States Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. You refused to answer all of the pertinent questions asked of you by counsel on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate you.

Now, the law provides that this committee, with the approval of the Federal court, may grant you immunity. In other words, it can say to you—as I say, with the approval of the Federal court—that if you do answer the question, then any answers that you give to those questions may not be used against you. If this committee should decide to invoke that statute and grant you immunity from prosecution, would you testify?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I don't think it is necessary to answer this question because——

Mr. SCHERER. I cannot hear you.

Mr. MARKOFF. I don't think it is necessary to answer that question because nothing——

Mr. SCHERER. I still did not get your answer.

Mrs. HART. Nothing has been done.

Mr. MARKOFF. Has been done.

Mr. SCHERER. I am merely saying it takes a lot of effort on the committee's part to make application to a Federal court for approval; and I am saying, if this committee should decide, because it feels that you do have information which would be helpful to this committee—this committee decides that it will offer you immunity, will you then testify?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF. I have to decide this when they offer immunity and I see it is properly——

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MARKOFF (continuing). Then I will decide.

Mr. SCHIERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a question?

What year were you naturalized, please?

Mrs. HART. 1928, November.

Mr. MARKOFF. My naturalization papers——

Mr. DOYLE. Your naturalization——

Mr. MARKOFF. 1928, if I am correct.

Mr. DOYLE. 1928?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I see this Communist Party petition is in March 1940.

Without my taking time to say what I said to your business associate, who was the witness before you—did you hear what I said to him, the witness who was before you, who was identified with the same paper? You heard what I said to him?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You heard it?

Mr. MARKOFF. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Without my repeating it, take that onto yourself, will you? Just consider that I am taking the 2 minutes to say the same thing to you.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I should like now to call Mr. Anzelm Czarnowski to the stand. I will say, for the purpose of this record, Mr. Czarnowski testified as a friendly witness before this committee on December 4 of last year, at which time he identified a certain person as a Communist.

It appears, on the basis of staff investigation, that there is another person in this vicinity who bears the same name, and we want Mr. Czarnowski to be able to clear the record so that the stigma of Communist Party membership will not attach to the individual who bears the same name as the person who is a Communist of that name.

Mr. Czarnowski, would you kindly be sworn?

Mr. DOYLE. That is very good, because that is the established policy of this committee, to make sure there is no intentional cloud on any person.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please have the witness chair.

TESTIMONY OF ANZELM CZARNOWSKI

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Czarnowski, you testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities in the early part of December 1956. Is that correct?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your testimony you identified a person known by you to have been a Communist, by the name of Raymond Sergo, S-e-r-g-o. Is that correct?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir; known as Ray Sergo.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us just a little more about that person's identification, his background, and his occupation from the standpoint of identification?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. The person I have identified as a Communist, his name was Ray Sergo, an employee of the Electromotive Division of the General Motors Corp., now employed, I believe, with the Burlington Railroad.

After I returned, 2 days later, I believe, or 1 day later after this testimony, I received a call from Ray Sergo; and it happened so that there is another Ray Sergo who is a teacher, a law-abiding citizen, a good American, who is a schoolteacher in the same town where this quising lived, Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we have the original affidavit by Raymond Mathew Sergo, from Lyons, Ill., that he has submitted to the committee, under oath, denying that he has ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Our staff investigation checked this out clearly. So, for the purpose of clarity of our record, I suggest this affidavit now, in total, be incorporated in the body of the record.

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered. And the committee wants to compliment the staff and the witness in clearing this up so that the right man will be identified but not the wrong man.

(The affidavit follows:)

I, Raymond Mathew Sergo, was born in Hodgkins, Ill., on April 26, 1914. My early childhood was spent in Hodgkins. I lived in Lyons from the time I was 7 until I was 28.

My education began with 1 year at the Ideal School, District 105, La Grange, Ill. It continued through fifth grade at Washington Public School, District 103, Lyons, and I graduated from St. Hugh's Parochial School in Lyons, Ill., in 1928.

I attended Lyons Township High School in La Grange, Ill., from 1928 through 1932. I graduated and enrolled at J. Sterling Morton Junior College and graduated in 1935.

In 1936 I began working for the Universal Oil Products Co., as a Petroleum Analyst and Junior Chemist. I worked here until 1946. At this time I left and returned to school at the American Conservatory of Music. I remained here for approximately 1 year and then left to go into business.

I was a partner with Albert Klanyac and John Sergo in the Mayfair Bowling Lanes, Elston and Lawrence Avenues, in Chicago, Ill., for 1 year.

In 1938 I worked for Cummins Business Machines Corp. as a salesman and then managed the Austin Bowl, at Division and Central Avenues, in Chicago, for Mr. Louis Gelfand and Mr. Irving Glickman. I remained here for one season and then bought a home and grocery store in Lyons, Ill., in October 1949.

I have lived at 2103½ Oak Park Avenue, Berwyn, from 1942 until 1946. I moved back to Lyons in 1946 and have lived there since.

My wife and I operated the store until September 1955. I returned to school at Chicago Musical College in 1951 and also took courses at Roosevelt University. I received a Bachelor of Music Education degree in June 1953 from the Chicago Musical College and began teaching at the Lincoln Elementary School, District 103, Lyons, Ill., in September 1953. I have been employed there since as an eighth grade teacher.

I have resided at 4238 Joliet Avenue since 1949.

I am also a professional musician and have been a member of the American Federation of Musicians for the past 18 years.

I have taken graduate courses at the University of Chicago since the summer of 1954 and expect to receive a master's degree soon.

I have never worked at the Electromotive Division Plant of General Motors Corp., in La Grange, Ill.

I am a member of Phi Mu Alpha, honorary music fraternity, and also Phi Delta Kappa, honorary education fraternity. I have been an officer of the Lyons Lions Club, of Lions International, a member of St. Hugh's Holy Name Society, and an active church member of St. Hugh's Parish. For insurance protection I was enrolled as a youngster into the Croation Fraternal Union and have kept up the policy all my life.

I have been a member of the Illinois Education Association and the National Education Association for the past four years.

I am not now a member, and I have never been a member, of the Communist Party.

March 25, 1957.

RAYMOND MATHEW SERGO.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook:

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 25th day of March 1957, by the above-signed Raymond Sergo.

[SEAL]

IRENE BUTA, *Notary Public*.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, there are, I think 3, perhaps 4, witnesses, who are under subpoena. We respectfully suggest that the Chair order that all subpoenas outstanding for today be continued until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. DOYLE. I will make that direction, that all subpoenas that are outstanding and unable to be called today be continued until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock in this room.

Mrs. HART. May I approach the Chair, please?

I submitted 2 certificates this morning of 2 witnesses, whose subpoenas have been continued. One of them is quite ill. The other one is not quite ill. Does the Chair want them here tomorrow?

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know of the case?

Mr. ARENS. Are these the two here, counsel, Vincent Andrusis—

Mrs. HART. That is right.

Mr. ARENS (continuing). And Alice Yonik.

Mrs. HART. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Well, the order of the Chair is, or was this morning, that they will be continued, subject to further call; and we will communicate either with them or with you in the future with reference to a time for an appearance.

Mrs. HART. But not for tomorrow?

Mr. DOYLE. Is that satisfactory, counsel?

Mrs. HART. That is very satisfactory.

Mr. DOYLE. We will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 4:15 p. m., Tuesday, March 26, 1957, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Wednesday, March 27, 1957.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 7

(Chicago, Ill., Area)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Chicago, Ill.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, in room 209, United States Courthouse, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., at 10 a. m., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle of California and Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; W. Jackson Jones and Frank Bonora, investigators.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please come to order.

Let the record show that a legal quorum of the subcommittee of three is present, Mr. Frazier being absent, Mr. Scherer of Ohio and Mr. Doyle of California both being present, as they were yesterday during all of the hearings. Both members of the subcommittee present were present throughout all of the hearings yesterday.

I want to take this occasion to express our appreciation again to those in the hearing room for the fine cooperation given us yesterday, with no disturbance or annoyance of any kind. The committee, of course, is a work committee. You are here through the courtesy of the committee, which is here to work. And there is no smoking in the courtroom, of course, according to the building rules.

I wish to say again, although I know it will not be necessary—but once in a while in different parts of the country it has been necessary to remove some person from the hearing room because he disturbs the meeting. Of course, you cannot expect a congressional committee to put up with any disturbance either by applause or disapproval. So I want to instruct the marshal again and the police department that if anyone in the room takes it upon himself to disturb the meeting, not to wait for word from me, Mr. Marshal, just remove that person and do not let him return to the hearing room. I am sure that is what the rest of the people desire because they do not want to be disturbed either.

Are you ready, Mr. Arens, with the first witness?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

The first witness Mr. Chairman, who was scheduled to appear today was Mr. Carl Hirsch, H-i-r-s-c-h, who is presently editor of the Illinois section of the Daily Worker. We have received a medical certificate from a doctor to the effect that Mr. Hirsch is under his professional care, and recommends that he continue to be confined to his bed for the present time.

I, therefore, recommend, Mr. Chairman, that this medical certificate be incorporated by reference in the record, and that the subpoena pursuant to which Mr. Hirsch was to appear today be continued subject to a day certain, being specified after we have had time to consult with our own calendar and perhaps with Mr. Hirsch or his representative.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. I will make that order at this time.

(The medical certificate identified as "Hirsch Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, the first witness to be heard this morning, will be Mr. Otto Wangerin.

Would you kindly come forward?

Mr. DOYLE. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WANGERIN. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Occupy the chair.

TESTIMONY OF OTTO H. WANGERIN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING G. STEINBERG

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WANGERIN. My name is Otto Wangerin. I live at 6405 South Dorchester.

Mr. SCHERER. How do you spell that last name?

Mr. WANGERIN. W-a-n-g-e-r-i-n.

Mr. ARENS. Your occupation, please, sir?

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer that question based on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WANGERIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. STEINBERG. My name is Irving G. Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wangerin, I have in my hand a document previously identified in this record which has been circulated in the last several days by the Committee To Preserve American Freedoms. In this document a recitation is given of a number of people who were subpoenaed to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities here in Chicago. One of the persons so identified is bookseller Otto Wangerin, operator of the Modern Book Store. Active for 40 years in labor and progressive movement.

Kindly look at this document, which has been identified in this record, and tell us whether or not you are truthfully and accurately characterized and described?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document previously identified as "DeSchaaf Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. ARENS. Where were you when you were served with your subpoena to appear before this committee?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you a photostatic reproduction of a leaflet in which the Modern Book Store, 180 West Washington, is characterized as a bookstore specializing in labor, progressive, Marxist books, pamphlets, and periodicals.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not, to your certain knowledge, that is a truthful and accurate description of the Modern Book Store?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. Repeat the question, please.

Please read the question back to the witness.

(Record read by the reporter.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the same grounds, on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Where is the physical location of your employment?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to the physical location as to his place of employment.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question, Witness. It is reasonable, and it certainly couldn't incriminate you to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I still refuse to answer the question based on the fifth amendment, that portion of the fifth amendment that says no person can be compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. ARENS. In what type of a proceeding?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Sir, do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you are the owner and operator of the Modern Book Store you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a publication called Friendship, in which is listed the Modern Book Store, 64 West Randolph, among other sources, for obtaining literature which is recommended from the U. S. S. R.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true characterization of the material which is sold at the Modern Book Store?

(Document marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. STEINBERG. I want to point out to the committee that this session has nothing to do with the announced purpose of the hearing.

Mr. ARENS. You know that your sole prerogative is to advise your client.

Mr. DOYLE. You are violating the committee's rules.

Mr. ARENS. You know you are violating the committee's rules. If you were in a court, you would be slapped in jail in 5 minutes for that conduct.

Mr. STEINBERG. I wouldn't be slapped in jail. Don't talk to me that way.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that you admonish the counsel to restrain himself and observe the rules of this committee.

Mr. STEINBERG. I think counsel should be admonished. He shouldn't tell me I would be put in jail.

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute, Counsel.

What is your answer to the question, Witness?

Mr. WANGERIN. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. ARENS. Do you want the question repeated, Witness?

Mr. WANGERIN. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly repeat the question.

(Record read by the reporter.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment and also I object on the grounds that this has nothing to do with the purpose of this hearing.

Mr. ARENS. Are you registered or have you ever been registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness. It is very pertinent.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, and that portion of the amendment that says no person can be compelled to testify against themselves.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, Witness, if you admitted that you had registered with the United States Government according to the question our distinguished counsel asked you, it would tend to incriminate you. Is that your position? In other words, your registration with the United States Government—a public document would incriminate you. Is that your position? How ridiculous can a person be in claiming that?

Mr. WANGERIN. Would you please read the question back?

(Record read by the reporter.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I still refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment which says that no person can be compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. DOYLE. I can see, Witness, how it might incriminate you if you hadn't obeyed the law and registered. I can understand that. But how it could incriminate you if you complied with the law I don't understand. But you, of course, have a constitutional privilege to plead if you plead it in good faith and you acted according to your counsel. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. The Foreign Agents Registration Act provides, in substance, that any person who is the agent of a foreign principal and who disseminates Communist propaganda in the United States must register with the Department of Justice and must label, pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Communist propaganda which he disseminates in the United States.

We lay before you, now, two publications which were purchased from you at your store. The first is the Soviet Union (No. 1 (83) 1957) purchased by an investigator of this staff the other day. The other is New Times, identified as a Communist publication from abroad (January 3, 1957).

Kindly look at those documents and tell this committee, while you are under oath, first of all, whether or not you see in the documents any label pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you carry those publications in your store as a matter of regular business practice?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. By "those publications" I mean the Soviet Union and the New Times.

Mr. WANGERIN. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you a photostatic reproduction of one of your advertisements of the Modern Book Store in which you had a sale, 10- to 80-percent discount on all books. I observe here, among the books on which you have the discount and which you apparently are pushing for sale, are reports from the Soviet Union by Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin, Mikoyan, all reduced to 10 cents apiece. Then I observe here about a dozen or so specialties from the Soviet Union. Materialism and the Dialectical Method, Ten Classics of Marxism, Mao Tse-tung Selected Works, and Selected Works of Marx and Engels, and the like.

Kindly look at this document, which will be displayed to you, and tell us, first of all, whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of the advertisement of your store, or the leaflet issued by your store for prospective customers?

Mr. DOYLE. Among the foreign-born and foreign-ancestereed people, foreign people primarily.

Mr. STEINBERG. There are all kinds of books, if the court please, American books——

Mr. DOYLE. I recognize that.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, do you want to testify? I suggest you submit yourself to oath and we will interrogate you.

While you are examining that, may I invite your attention to other pages of the book list, from your store, of periodicals, such as Chinese Literature, China Reconstructs, China Pictorial, People's China; also listed as Soviet Union periodicals, some of which I cannot pronounce such as Soviet Literature, cultural items, and then the old-line Communist publications: Political Affairs, Mainstream, and the like.

Kindly look at these pages, while your counsel is examining the first pages, and see if you will be good enough to help this Committee on Un-American Activities in its work by verifying the authenticity of those price lists.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, and that this has nothing to do with the purpose of this hearing.

(Document marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is your bookstore a corporation or an operation by a private entrepreneur, registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment, and further that has nothing to do with the purposes of this meeting.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us what a stool pigeon is? Do you know what that term means?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer that question based on the first and fifth amendment and on the further grounds that any answer, any opinion as to this question that I might express may be used by this committee against me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wangerin, I want to call to your attention excerpts from a photostatic copy of a letter from a stool pigeon by the name of Earl Browder, who was then general secretary of the Communist Party. Back in 1939 he addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities, and the committee was in its initial stages of exploration and investigations at that time. He says in this letter, which I am going to display to you in a moment, that he acknowledges receipt of the subpoena that was served upon him and he is enclosing a list, full names of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party and the candidates of the National Committee of the Communist Party as of that date; and curiously enough under the National Committee of the Communist Party USA, elected at the 10th convention, we see here listed the name of Otto Wangerin, W-a-n-g-e-r-i-n.

Was Earl Browder misrepresenting to the Committee on Un-American Activities back in 1939 when he asserted in that letter that you were one of the top officials—one of the members of the National

Committee of this conspiratorial apparatus known as the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you some testimony. In June of 1956 this committee held hearings in St. Louis, Mo. At that time a man testified by the name of Thomas A. Younglove, Y-o-u-n-g-l-o-v-e. He stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party, and he continued in his testimony, under oath, as follows:

And the national officer of the railroad workers of the Communist Party stated, before a select group at State headquarters—and this man's name was Otto W. Wangerin. He was from Chicago. I can spell it, but I don't know if it would be correct.

Question:

Do you know what position he held in the Communist Party?

Answer, by Mr. Younglove, under oath:

He was introduced by a man by the name of Herman Webb as being a national organizer for the Communist Party within the railroad workers. He also referred to that position in the course of his talk.

While you are under oath, tell this committee was Mr. Younglove lying or was he telling the truth when he testified under oath before this committee and identified you as a national organizer of this conspiratorial apparatus known as the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. Could I see that document, please?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. I heard your counsel tell you to ask for it.

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps you can help us with another document. It is a photograph of yourself in a parade, May 1, 1948, carrying a banner and this banner is entitled "Communist Party of Illinois," and there you are helping to carry a banner in the parade.

Look at the photograph please, and tell us if it is going to incriminate you to identify your own picture?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. May 1, 1948.

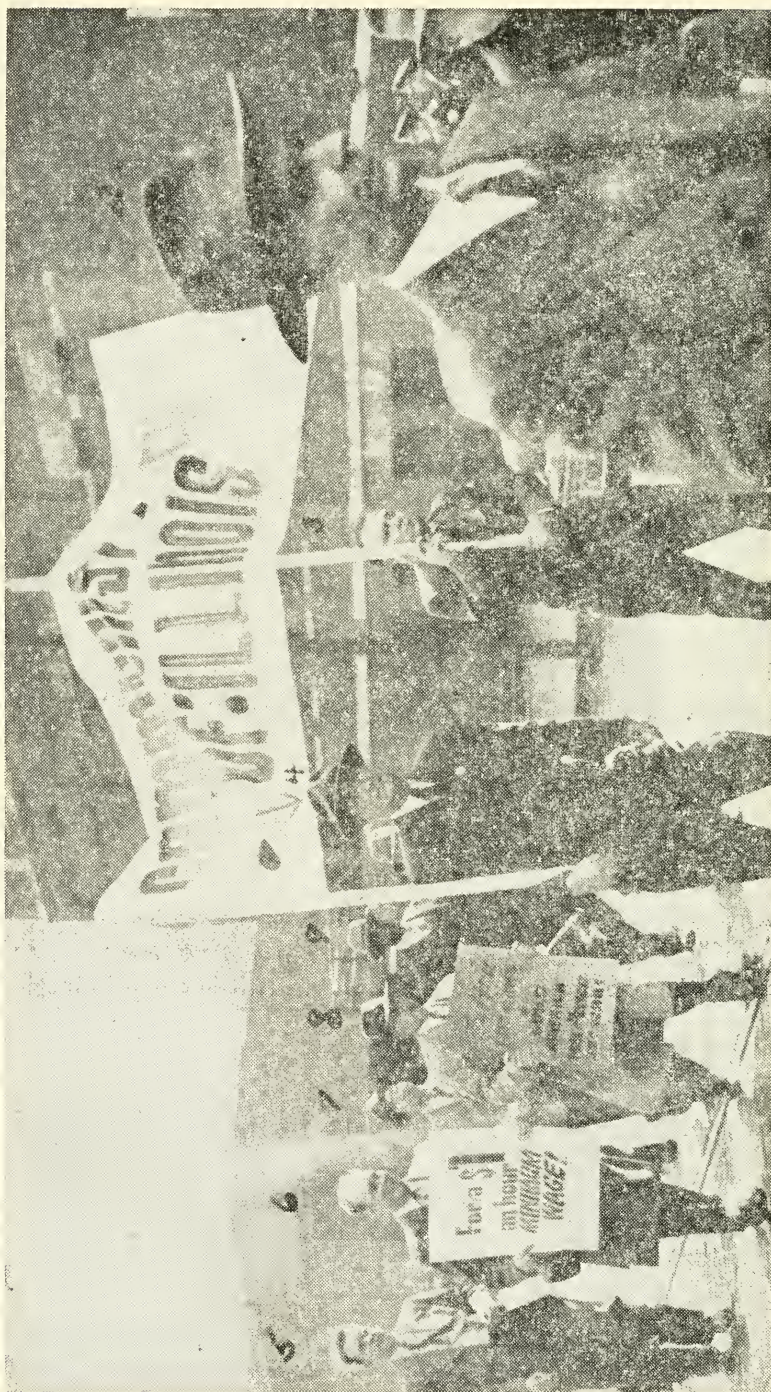
He is carrying a banner entitled "Communist Party of Illinois."

Mr. DOYLE. Here in Chicago?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

That was 2 years before the passage of the Internal Security Act, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WANGERIN. I refuse to answer the question on the same basis.



WANGERIN EXHIBIT No. 6

Mr. ARENS. Now, we would like to display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of the letter on the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois letterhead, under your signature as administrative secretary. The Civil Rights Congress is masquerading behind Abraham Lincoln, calling upon all our fellows who love liberty to advocate the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Act, and, advocating the repeal of the thought-control Smith Act, pursuant to which the Communist traitors were put in jail, and the like.

Kindly look at this document, signed Otto Wangerin, administrative secretary on the letterhead of the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois, dated February 23, 1953, and see if you will be good enough to help this Committee on Un-American Activities in its work by verifying the authenticity of your signature appearing there.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wangerin, although I feel you have been a little less than frank with the committee, I want to be absolutely frank with you. We are going to lay before you a pay voucher, pursuant to which when you sign it you will receive your witness fee. I want to be frank with you and say the reason I want to have you sign it, while you are under oath, is that I want to compare the signature you affixed to this Civil Rights Congress letter and the signature which I hope you will affix to the voucher we now lay before you.

Would you kindly affix your signature to that voucher now?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I will sign it after I have finished testifying.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that if, as and when Mr. Wangerin affixes his signature to a pay voucher to receive his witness fee that that part of the pay voucher be incorporated in the body of the record so it may be compared with the signature appearing on the letter of the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois with Mr. Wangerin identified as administrative secretary of that organization.

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF ILLINOIS

2 EAST LAKE STREET • ROOM 516

CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS • STATE 28357

"PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS EVERYTHING!"—HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR CRC 1953 MEMBERSHIP?

February 23, 1957.

Dear Friend of Civil Rights:

Abraham Lincoln, in a debate with Douglas, declared: "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes and pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

With Lincoln's statement we concur, and we see this as the job of the Civil Rights Congress - to mould public sentiment. But we go further. After moulding the sentiment of the people, we must organize it and move it into forms of effective expression, so that those who are responsible for the violation of our constitutional and human rights will be made to retreat. Towards this end, it is our bounden duty to build the Civil Rights Congress into the most powerful civil rights organization in America.

Today, more than ever, the guarantee of building public sentiment and defeating fascist reaction in our country, lies in the building of the broadest coalition of the Negro people, Spanish people, professional people, liberals, labor, and other sections of the population. In this lies our only hope of reversing the present reactionary offensive that threatens to wipe out the last vestiges of American democracy.

The CRC calls on its members and friends to take heart in the fight for civil rights. Let us be in the front ranks of those liberty-loving Americans fighting for peace and democracy, for equality for the Negro people, for smashing the frameups against progressives, for repeal of the thought-control Smith Act and amnesty for its victims in jail, to defend labor and repeal Taft-Hartley, to repeal the McCarran-Walter Act, to save the lives of the Rosenbergs, to defeat the McCarthyite witchhunters and preserve the Constitution of the United States and its Bill of Rights.

This is the program of the CRC. It is worthy of the support of all liberty-loving Americans. It has won great achievements in the fight for civil rights. We must unite for victory. We want to retain all the members who have joined us in the past and encourage all of them to get new members. We urge you to at once renew your membership for 1957 and to enroll your friends and acquaintances. Sign the enclosed card and return with \$1.00 today.

PS: And, yes, would you please send us an additional contribution for the CRC Action Fund?

Fraternally yours,

Otto Wangerin
Otto Wangerin,
Administrative Sec'y.

FOR THE AMERICAN HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

WANGERIN EXHIBIT No. 7

* (To be filled out and submitted in duplicate.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

VOUCHER

(Do not write in this space)

H. of R.

Vo. No.

TO Otto H. Wangerin, DR.

Address 6405 South Dorchester

Chicago, Illinois

(Do not write in this space)

Appropriation

I CERTIFY that the above bill is correct and just, and that payment therefor has not been received.

* DO NOT SIGN IN DUPLICATE

(Bill must be completely filled in before certification by payee, and there must not be any erasure or alteration whatever.)

Payee Otto H. Wangerin

By

I CERTIFY that the above articles have been received in good condition and in the quality and quantity above specified, or the services performed as stated, and that they are in accordance with the orders therefor; that the prices charged are just, reasonable, and in accordance with agreement.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities

(Title)

WANGERIN Exhibit No. 8

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wangerin, in addition to your operation of the bookstore and your candidacy and your status in the Communist Party, you have also been a professor or instructor, have you not? Could you help us on that?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the same grounds, that it has nothing to do with this hearing.

Mr. ARENS. We have a thermofax reproduction of a bulletin (spring term April 8 to June 22, 1940) of the Workers School, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, in which they announce the spring term. On the inside appears this Workers School schedule of classes. We see a course on trade unionism, theory and practice, and the instructor as listed here is Otto Wangerin.

Kindly look at that document and see if you will be cooperative enough with this committee to verify its authenticity.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the grounds that this has nothing to do with the purpose of this hearing.

(Document marked "Wangerin Exhibit No. 9," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. He declined to answer on the grounds that this question had nothing to do with this hearing.

I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer this question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. That is better.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of John A. Rossen, R-o-s-s-e-n?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. That is the question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. He is scheduled to be the next witness. I thought perhaps you might help us a little and give us information about him.

Do you honestly feel if you told us the truth of the knowledge you have respecting John A. Rossen you might be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. WANGERIN. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born, Mr. Witness?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the same grounds, the first and fifth.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct you to answer, Witness. That is a basic question of identification and certainly the United States Congress is entitled to know where the people it protects are born.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness.
(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, that portion which says no person is compelled to be a witness against himself or to incriminate himself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you honestly believe, Witness, if you told us how long you lived in Chicago that such an answer might tend to incriminate you? Do you honestly believe that?

Mr. WANGERIN. Same answer.

Mr. DOYLE. I always thought Chicago was a city of law-abiding citizens. I didn't know it was a place you would be ashamed to admit that you lived in.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer my question as to whether or not he honestly believes that to answer that question might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. WANGERIN. Yes, I do.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that in the presence of this witness another witness be sworn.

Will you kindly stand and be sworn Mr. Jones?

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

Mr. STEINBERG. May I ask for the privilege to cross-examine this witness?

Mr. ARENS. You know you are asking for something that is in violation of the rules.

Mr. STEINBERG. May I have a ruling from the Chair?

Mr. SCHERER. You have violated the rules consistently for 2 days. If you continue to do that once more, as much as I dislike to, I am going to move that you be ejected from the courtroom. You know you can't cross-examine this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel doesn't need to make a showing.

Mr. SCHERER. You have done that consistently for 2 days now.

TESTIMONY OF W. JACKSON JONES

Mr. ARENS. Are you W. Jackson Jones, an investigator of the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. JONES. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Jones, I lay before you two publications. The first is Soviet Union, No. 1 (83) 1957. The second is New Times, January 3, 1957.

I ask you if you purchased those in the course of the last several days here in Chicago?

Mr. JONES. They were purchased.

Mr. ARENS. And from whom did you purchase them, and where?

Mr. JONES. They were purchased from Mr. Wangerin at the Modern Book Store, 64 West Randolph Street.

Mr. ARENS. Is Mr. Wangerin the gentleman who is seated in the principal witness chair?

Mr. JONES. He is one and the same.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall, Mr. Jones, approximately when you made that purchase, what day, how long ago?

Mr. JONES. It was on Friday of last week.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wangerin, you heard the testimony of Mr. Jones. Do you recall the incident to which he just alluded in his testimony, to wit, that he purchased these two publications in your establishment? (Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendment and that the question has nothing to do with the hearing.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Jones, you know, of course, that under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the agent of a foreign principal who disseminates Communist propaganda in the United States is obliged to do two things: First, to register with the Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act and, secondly, to label the Communist propaganda so that the recipient will know that he is getting Communist literature.

Did you after an examination see anywhere on either of those documents you purchased at the Modern Book Store from Mr. Wangerin, the label that is required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. JONES. These documents do not bear the label.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Mr. Jones.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, doesn't the record clearly show that across the country there are certain book stores, which are substantially known to the people who buy certain literature, as Communist Party depositories for Communist Party literature and pamphlets, and so forth?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. And they also are known to us to sell the same type of literature by titles and authors that is shown in the testimony today that this man sells here in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. And our concern at that point, Mr. Chairman, is not their selling of the literature, but it is their overt flouting of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, you are going to look into it to see whether or not this man has complied with the law, I take it?

Mr. ARENS. It is clear he has not complied with the law.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I would like to know. I would like to have a report on it. Because I used to be a book salesman, myself, I am interested to know.

As I take it this witness was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party in this country in 1939. Is that correct?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. According to the signature of Earl Browder?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; who was then general secretary.

Mr. DOYLE. And who was then the national head of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I take it that Mr. Browder was not misrepresenting.

Mr. ARENS. Well, if he was misrepresenting, the witness was given an opportunity to straighten him out.

Mr. DOYLE. The thing that I can't help but notice, Witness, is this sheet here which was distributed from a Communist Party office in Chicago, according to the address, lists you as one of the subpoenaed. You claimed your privilege, but there has been introduced, in the record here, a document showing that you were an instructor in trade unionism, apparently while you were a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

In my book it is another case involving you as a Communist leader in this country trying to influence and dominate the trade-union movement in this country.

And that is what Communists always try to do. They try to use organized labor for their filthy purpose, and they always place the Communist Party philosophy ahead of free American trade unionism. I have never known it to fail.

I came from a family of working people. It makes me shiver when I see the extent to which Communist functionaries try to abuse and use the American trade-union movement for their own filthy purpose, to take control of American labor for the sake of communism, and that is what you do.

I want to ask this question, Mr. Wangerin. Do you get these pamphlets about China and the Soviet program in China directly from China, or do you buy them from some place in this country to resell?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WANGERIN. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments and that your question has nothing to do with the purpose of this hearing.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, it has everything to do with this. We are permitted under the law and my pronouncement was that we would go into the Communist conspiracy wherever it exists in the field of newspapers or communications, and a bookstore is pretty near next door to a newspaper.

I will ask you this question: Do you get your pamphlets on Marxism and other periodicals lauding the Soviet system from Russia as some bookstores do that I have learned about, or do you get them from some wholesale distributor in this country?

How in the world could that tend to incriminate you, to tell us how you trade legally?

Mr. WANGERIN. Same answer.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all from this witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be John Rossen, R-o-s-s-e-n.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, Mr. Scherer, yesterday the identified Communists who were before us, as I recall it, all claimed that we were interfering with the freedom of the press, interfering with freedom.

I have here this morning, and I am going to mention the paper,

the New York Times, March 27, New York. And on the front page in a square is a picture of an envelope, airmail, New York. It was mailed from New York, February 18, to someone in Budapest, Hungary, with American postage on it, and the postage is canceled, the name of the sender is canceled. And this says, photocopy of an envelope sent back here from Hungary because of postmark over the stamp. And the postmark over the stamp, you may be interested to know, was the postmark which is used now I believe over all United States postage, or most of it, is three words "Crusade for Freedom." Those are the three words. And the Communist postoffice in Hungary returned three of these to the New York postoffice according to this article in the New York Times this morning, refusing delivery to citizens of Budapest, Hungary, because it had "Crusade for Freedom" over the stamp.

Is that what you call freedom of the press? That is the kind of freedom that these Communists yesterday would want to impose on the American press. They would want a controlled press and control it for their filthy Communist Party philosophy and purposes.

Here is a good illustration of the unwillingness of a Communist-controlled country, Hungary, to let three words go in on the top of an envelope "Crusade for Freedom."

I would like, Mr. Arens, to have this included in the record of these hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

(Photostat of airmail envelope and New York Times article follow.)

Hungary Bars U. S. Letters With 'Crusade' Postmark



Photo copy of an envelope sent back here from Hungary because of postmark over the stamp

The New York Times

[The New York Times, March 27, 1957]

By John W. Finney

Hungary is returning letters from this country in protest against an official United States postmark urging support of the Crusade for Freedom. Three returned letters were received by the post office here yesterday. The Post Office Department is expecting a flood of undelivered letters from Communist Hungary. The postmark to which Hungary objects reads: "Support Your Crusade for Freedom." Hungarian officials contend that the postmark is intended to incite further revolts by "counterrevolutionaries" and that it does not promote "international cooperation" in mail service. The cancellation mark has been used periodically by the post office for the last 4 years. This is the first time, however, that the Hungarian Government has objected to it.

Crusade for Freedom is a private organization that supports Radio Free Europe, and Free Europe Press. The organization has been denounced by the Soviet Union, which asserts that it was established to finance and direct subversive activity within Communist countries.

Postmaster Robert H. Schaffer said the Hungarian Post Office's action came to light yesterday when officials at the Morgan station, which handles foreign mail, called him to ask why the mail was being returned.

STICKER EXPLAINS REASON

The official Hungarian reason was given on a sticker placed on the envelope. The sticker read in English:

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN (A.) ROSSEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVING G. STEINBERG

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ROSSEN. My name is John Rossen. I live at 5715 Blackstone, Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to complete your answer?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. In reply to that, I would like to say to the distinguished counsel of the committee that he can go straight to—the Constitution and he will see that this third part of the question is an invasion of my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. ROSSEN. Again, I will say to the distinguished counsel that he can go straight to—the Constitution—

Mr. ARENS. I suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute.

I want the record to show and you to know, that we realize that you are intending by the inflection of your voice and the hesitancy of your language to tell this counsel to go someplace other than straight to the Constitution. If you do it again, we are going to put you in contempt. You are not as smart as you think you are.

"The text of the postmark is contrary to Section 2, Article 1 of Chapter 1 of the Universal Postal Convention. Therefore, the Hungarian Post Office has returned the letter to its sender."

Section 2 says the purpose of the Postal Union is "to assure the organization and improvement of the various postal services and to promote in that sphere the development of international cooperation."

Mr. Schaeffer denied that the postmark violated the postal convention. He said the cancellation had been used in January of 1954 and 1955 and in the first 3 months of 1956 and 1957. The postmark has been used by the post offices here and in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

The New York Post Office sends about 1,750 letters a day to Hungary by air and ship.

On March 8 Hungary delivered diplomatic notes to the American and British Legations in Budapest protesting the cancellation marks on letters reaching Hungary from the United States and Canada.

A Canadian postmark to which Hungary objected read: "Why wait for spring? Do it now." Hungary contended the postmark showed that the Canadian Government would "welcome new counterrevolutionary activity and bloodshed in Hungary." The Canadian Government explained, however, that the postmark was merely a call to Canadians to fix up their homes, and had nothing to do with Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the last question which is outstanding on this record.

Mr. DOYLE. You may be a theater manager, but you don't make a show out of this. You will get that clear.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully request that the question outstanding has not been answered and there is a request that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I order and direct you to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I refuse to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. ROSSEN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ROSSEN. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. STEINBERG. Irving G. Steinberg, 180 West Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rossen, do you know the gentleman who preceded you on the witness stand, Mr. Otto Wangerin?

Mr. ROSSEN. I refuse to answer on the grounds the question is a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully, while you are under oath, whether or not you know Mr. Otto Wangerin, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the grounds that the question violates—is an invasion of my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you, Witness, to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Even Mr. Beck knew yesterday he had to answer that question "Yes" when he was asked if he honestly felt that question——

Mr. ROSSEN. Do you mind reading the question back again?

Mr. ARENS. The last outstanding question is this: Do you honestly apprehend, sir, if you told this committee truthfully, while you are under oath, whether or not you know Otto Wangerin, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding? And you have a direction from the chairman to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I repeat my refusal to answer under the grounds that I can't be compelled to testify against myself on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We have a thermofax reproduction of the testimony given before this committee on June 5, 1956, by Thomas A. Younglove, in which Mr. Younglove, while he was under oath, before this committee in our hearings in St. Louis, Mo., identified you as a person

known to him to be a member of the Communist Party. Was Mr. Younglove lying or was he telling the truth?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. May I see the document?

Mr. ARENS. Surely. Perhaps that would help refresh your recollection.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. In view of the fact that I never had the chance to cross-examine or question this Mr. Younglove, I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. Whether you had the chance or not, you have now the opportunity to tell this committee whether Mr. Younglove was lying or telling the truth to the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. And if you are telling the truth, instead of Mr. Younglove, he would be a perjurer. We will find out which one is perjuring himself. So you have your chance now to put Mr. Younglove in a classification of a perjurer if he wasn't telling the truth.

Mr. ROSSEN. Well, sir, the best witness against Mr. Younglove would be himself, and I would just love the opportunity to cross-examine.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Unfortunately, we do not have with us today Jeremy Selden for you to cross-examine him. Maybe he is in the same situation as Mr. Younglove. I would like to invite your attention to a photostatic copy of an article by Jeremy, J-e-r-e-m-y Selden in the Communist Daily Worker of October 3, 1948. Your photograph is also there. The title of this article is "Workingmen's Answer to Winchell," and the subheading reads as follows:

Communist Party Organizer Johnny Rossen conducts a radio program and a newsletter that have eastern Missouri and southern Illinois talking. How Johnny combines gags and politics to fight reaction's lies.

I would like to read a few little excerpts from this, and, as I say, I am very sorry we do not have Selden here so you could cross-examine him. I am sure if a man called me a Communist I would certainly deny it under oath. I thought perhaps you would.

"Johnny" has become an institution in eastern Missouri and southern Illinois.

"Johnny," you see, happens to be Johnny Rossen, field organizer for the Communist Party in southern Illinois, and his racy, hard-hitting, popular-style, 15-minute weekly radio "Newsletter of the Air," has brought a remarkable response from radio listeners.

I will skip several paragraphs, and we read this under your photograph:

Johnny, who is a veteran of the Lincoln Brigade, and of World War II, is especially proud of the fact that a number of his listeners, who had never before had contact with the labor or progressive movement, are now active workers in the progressive party. But, most of all, he is proud of his radio listeners who have been recruited into the Communist Party.

Now, while you are under oath, in view of that very serious indictment of you as part of a traitorist conspiracy, would you care to deny

it and denounce the author of that article as a perjurer and as a defamer of your character, or was he, on the other hand, telling the truth?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

(Document marked "Rossen exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. DOYLE. This might be a case, Mr. Arens, but it is not too possible, where Mr. Rossen wants to claim this author is a perjurer and not telling the truth. It might be possible that we could arrange a meeting, where Mr. Rossen could come back sometime in the next few months and have this author present so he could face him.

Mr. ARENS. I would suggest at least as a preliminary matter he could, while he is under oath, stand up like a red-blooded American and deny he has ever been a member of this conspiracy. That might be a start.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right. Let us find out who is perjuring himself.

Mr. ROSSEN. In reply to this question, I would say that the question very obviously is an interference and an attempt to interfere with the freedom of the radio as well as freedom of speech and the press, and, therefore, I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. DOYLE. May I just say that the thing we are trying to do is to find out the extent to which identified Communists are using the radio as a means to perpetuate or promulgate the Communist conspiracy.

You have been identified to us as a Communist. Therefore, we are interested to know the extent to which you use the radio for that purpose. We think it is legitimate and very important to know whether or not you do.

Mr. ARENS. We have two documents to display to you, please, Mr. Rossen. The first is a letterhead of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, dated March 19, 1952, on which your name appears as executive director.

(Document marked "Rossen Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

The second is a photostatic reproduction of a check, drawn on the Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank, which you signed as executive director of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. The check is for \$20, payable to the Fine Arts Building, and is dated March 5, 1954.

Kindly look at those two documents and see if you will be good enough to verify their authenticity for us?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. While you are examining that document, or while your counsel is, may I make this further request, Mr. Rossen: Mr. Jones of our staff is going to lay before you a pay voucher, which, when you sign it, makes available to you the pay due you as a witness before this committee.

I am going to ask you if you will kindly sign that document now, while you are under oath, so we may compare that signature on the check and on another document that is to follow. Would you be good

enough to accommodate the committee to that extent, please, Mr. Rossen?

Mr. ROSSEN. I will sign the pay voucher later.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that if, as and when Mr. Rossen affixes his signature to the voucher that part of the voucher bearing his signature be incorporated in the body of the record so there may be a comparison of his signatures on other documents.

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered.

Mr. ROSSEN. With reference to these alleged documents. I refuse to answer the question on the basis that these documents have nothing to do with this hearing or with the powers of the committee, and on the further grounds that the request to answer the question is an invasion of my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rossen, we want to lay before you a photostatic reproduction of an application for public place of amusement license—which you signed as president of the L. M. S. Amusement Company, Inc., dated December 28, 1956. The building or ground to be operated by this L. M. S. Amusement Co., according to the application, is known as a Cinema Annex, a movie company, located at 3210 Madison Avenue here in Chicago.

2340
710

AMALGAMATED TRUST & SAVINGS BANK
111 SOUTH DEARBORN
CHICAGO.

1034 No. 5200

PAY TO THE
ORDER OF *Five U.S. 12.00*

Twenty and no/100

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
depositing 12.00 in 12/24/40

UNITED COUNCIL OF AMERICAN BANKERS, INC.
BY *John C. [illegible]*

DOLLARS

ROSSEN EXHIBIT No. 3

*(To be filled out and
submitted in duplicate.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

VOUCHER

(Do not write in this space)
H. of R.
Vo. No.

TO John Rossen, DR.

Address 5715 Blackstone

Chicago, Illinois

(Do not write in this space)

Appropriation

H. Res. 117, 85th Cong.

18 00

TOTAL

I CERTIFY that the above bill is correct and just, and that payment therefor has not been received.

***DO NOT SIGN IN DUPLICATE**

(Bill must be completely filed in before certification by payee, and there must not be any erasure or alteration whatever.)

By

I CERTIFY that the above articles have been received in good condition and in the quality and quantity above specified, or the services performed as stated, and that they are in accordance with the orders therefor; that the prices charged are just, reasonable, and in accordance with agreement.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities

(Title)

ROSSEN EXHIBIT No. 4

Kindly look at that document, as Mr. Jones displays it to you, and tell this committee, while you are under oath, if you will accommodate us by verifying the authenticity of your signature and the contents of that document?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

118 Form C.Z. 211 10M 11-53 (C210)

CITY OF CHICAGO
OFFICE OF THE CITY COLLECTOR
107 CITY HALL

Application for Public Place of Amusement License

TO THE CITY COLLECTOR, CITY OF CHICAGO: Date 12/28 1956

The undersigned owner or lessee of the property hereinafter described hereby makes application for a license for a public place of amusement under the provisions of Chapter 104.1 of the Municipal Code of Chicago, making a part of said application the following presentations:

Applicant's name LMS Amusement Co. Inc
(If an individual, give name in full; if a corporation, so state)

If applicant is a corporation, give full names and residence addresses of the principal officers:

President J. Rossen 3710 Madison
(Residence address)

Secretary L. Rosen "
(Residence address)

Treasurer " "
(Residence address)

Location for which license is sought 3710 Madison
(Street and number)

Applicant intends starting operating at this location on rental 1957

Building, ground or enclosure is known as Living Annex

Kind of amusement(s) to be conducted movie

If Class 1, give: (a) Maximum seating capacity no change 750

(b) Maximum additional floor and field area (except seat space) 1500 sq. ft.

Period for which license is sought:

Annual period ending December 31, 19.....

Other than annual: 6 months — days. From 1/1 1957 To 6/31 1957

Description of property used or intended for use as a public place of amusement.....

Is applicant the owner of said property? No Is applicant the lessee of said property? yes

GUARANTY

For and in consideration of the issuance of the license applied for the applicant(s), jointly and severally, hereby guarantee(s) to the City of Chicago the payment of the taxes imposed upon any and all amusements at the licensed premises, during the period for which license is sought, in the manner and at the times provided in Chapter 104 (Amusements) of the Municipal Code of Chicago.

(If a corporation, sign here)

LMS Amusement Co
(Corporate Name)

By J. Rossen Pres
President

Attest L. Rosen Secy
Secretary

(Individual or partnership sign here)

..... (Seal)

..... (Seal)

..... (Residence address if applicant is an individual)

Mr. ROSSEN. I consider this question an effort of the committee to invade another field which is protected to the public by the first amendment; namely, the field of the showing of movies, and I don't think it is within the province of this committee to make any laws or recommendations concerning laws concerning the censorship of films or the showing of films. I, therefore, decline to answer the question on the grounds that it violates the first and the fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you do not think that Congress has the right or a duty to investigate and report to the American people the extent to which identified Communists, like you, propose to use the films as a deliberate means of communication of the Communist ideology to the American people; is that correct?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. Congress has found and the courts have found the Communist Party to be a foreign ideological conspiracy, and yet you do not think we have the right to inform the American people, of the extent to which the Communist Party of this country, through you and others identified as Communist leaders, are undertaking to control the press, the radio, the television, or anything else, in order to mislead and misinform the American people?

Mr. ROSSEN. My answer to that, sir—

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead and answer it.

Mr. ROSSEN. Is that who is to determine which of these movies is Communist or good or bad. Some people think things are Communist because they don't like them. And that seems to be the case with this committee. Practically anything they don't like is Communist, Communist influenced, or Communist inspired. The Constitution very clearly defends the right of the people to freedom of speech, and that includes freedom of movies, too.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. ROSSEN. And I think the Congressmen should keep that in mind.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Doyle wasn't talking about the movie itself; he was talking about individuals like yourself who are engaged in the activities in which you are engaged.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. We are not investigating the press, as such, movies, as such, but we are investigating individuals who exert their influence in those various fields, and we feel that the American people and the Congress have a right to know.

You have a right to show all those movies, you have a right to print anything you want, but we think the American people have a right to know when Communists are giving them that type of propaganda.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. Some people, sir—may I answer you, sir? Some people call others Communists because they are against segregation. There is a man in Chicago who was called a Communist because in Louisville, Ky., he rented his home or sold his home to a Negro. Are you going to call him a Communist for that? Apparently you do. Some people do. Who is to determine who is a Communist?

Mr. DOYLE. We can determine you are one. The record shows it, and you don't deny it. And you are a Communist functionary.

I hesitate as an American citizen with children to think that you are going to get an avenue to further spill the Communist philosophy into the minds and eyes of young people every chance you get, just like you are now doing in this witness chair.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I would like to ask you, first of all, are you registered, or is the Cinema Annex registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask you to direct the witness to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you, Witness, to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment which gives me a right not to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. I have here several postcards from the Cinema Annex advertising, soliciting customers to come see some of the movies. The first one is a postcard advertising the movie on June 24, "3 brandnew documentaries, SEE: How Russians Live; How They Work, Play; What They Eat, Wear; In the Soviet Union." Then, an added feature, "Anton Chekhov's Powerful Drama, The Upheaval."

Mr. ROSSEN. May I correct the counsel? "Chekhov" did you say?

Mr. ARENS. Can you help me on that?

Mr. ROSSEN. I was wondering if I heard you correctly?

Mr. ARENS. You help me then, would you, please, sir?

Mr. ROSSEN. After the hearing perhaps I will be glad to.

Mr. ARENS. After you are released from under oath—

Mr. ROSSEN. I will educate you.

Mr. ARENS. —free from pains and—

Mr. ROSSEN. Would you like to meet on an equal basis outside? We are not on an equal basis here. Let's recognize that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. While you are under oath, tell this committee if you procured and had displayed at your theater, the Cinema Annex, the magnificent production, In the Soviet Union, plus Anton Chekhov's powerful drama, The Upheaval and the popular Soviet novel, The Zhurbin Family, all in magicolor.

Look at that card now and tell us, if you please, sir, first of all, if I pronounced this man's name correctly and, secondly, if those are films which you displayed and third, I am going to ask you if you registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act before you displayed them?

(Document marked "Rossen Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. May I make a little comment?

Mr. DOYLE. Sure.

Mr. SCHERER. This demonstrates what I was trying to say a few minutes ago. Neither this committee nor the Congress, nor anyone, can or wants to prevent him from showing these films. He has a right after this hearing today to go and show this film or any other similar film.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. What we think we have a right to do is show to the American people, at least, the fact that this man who is show-

ing these films is himself a Communist Party functionary, the man who invites the people to come see these movies. They should know and have the right to know what to expect from an individual like that. That is the purpose. We must keep our eye glued to that point.

Mr. ARENS. Also, Mr. Scherer, if I may be permitted to comment, it is the concern of the committee that these films and these propaganda publications of the Communist Party are not labeled in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act in order that the recipient and viewer would know he is seeing Communist poison.

Mr. SCHERER. One of the purposes of these hearings is to recommend legislation that would strengthen the act as regards these individuals who have been violating the act so they may be compelled to comply with the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Scherer. I join in your remarks, of course.

Mr. ARENS. Would you be good enough to accommodate the committee by telling us about that name if I pronounced it correctly, first of all, and, secondly, if that is a true and correct reproduction of a bulletin sent out from your theater?

Mr. ROSSEN. I will be glad to accommodate the distinguished counsel. The name is "Anton Chekhov."

Mr. ARENS. How do you know that?

Mr. ROSSEN. It is from my acquaintance with some of the literary works. Of course, I don't expect counsel to be as acquainted with it as I am. I do happen to know about him.

Mr. SCHERER. You say the acquaintance with that name is from your acquaintance with what literary works?

Mr. ROSSEN. World literature.

Mr. SCHERER. World literature?

Mr. ROSSEN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that your only acquaintance with that name? Are you telling us the truth? Isn't your acquaintance with that name the fact you showed that picture?

Mr. ROSSEN. That is right. This man happened to be dead a long time. I couldn't have much other acquaintance. I am not sure counsel is aware of that. He has been dead about 50 years.

Mr. SCHERER. You say your acquaintance is through world literature. Your acquaintance is that you showed it at your movie; isn't it? You showed a movie with that name. You opened the door.

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask he be directed to answer the question. He opened the door, and now he adds the fifth amendment to that question. He wanted to lead this committee and the press to believe that the only connection or the only knowledge he had of that name was through his knowledge of world literature. Now, I submit he may have had that knowledge, but that certainly isn't the only knowledge he has of that name.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Witness.

Mr. ROSSEN. May I respectfully call to your attention, sir, that there is a question pending which hasn't been answered?

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer this question of mine and any question that may be pending be withdrawn, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; we withdraw the other question temporarily. You answer this question. You opened the door. I think it is merely elementary law when you do that the other people can walk through that.

Mr. ROSSEN. I ask that both the questions be read.

Mr. SCHERER. I will repeat the question that I want answered. I am prefacing it with this statement, that you said voluntarily that your acquaintance with that name—I can't pronounce it—with that name came through your knowledge of world literature. Now my question to you: Isn't it a fact that you had additional knowledge of that name from the fact that you have shown a movie bearing that name in your movie house? Isn't that a fact?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. May I ask that both the questions be read?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer repeated his question. You heard it. You consulted with your counsel when you heard it.

Mr. ROSSEN. Could I ask that the last question be read?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I am sorry I can't answer it, because I don't know what it is.

Mr. SCHERER. I will repeat it once more. I think you are just fencing. You volunteered the statement to this committee that your knowledge of that name Chekhov, or whatever it is, resulted from your knowledge of world literature. My question to you is: Isn't it a fact that you had knowledge of that name from some other source, namely, by reason of the fact that you showed a movie in your theater involving that name?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer that question on the basis that the question is not within the province of the authority of this committee to inquire into; that is, it is a violation of the first and fifth amendments. If I answer the question it may be the basis for a link of evidence that will tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I submit that since by opening the door by his voluntary statement he waived any right that he might have had to invoke the fifth amendment. Therefore, I ask you to direct the witness to answer my question.

Mr. DOYLE. I will not only direct him, but agree with you wholeheartedly.

I direct you to answer that question, Witness. It is elementary law. Mr. Scherer and I are both lawyers, as well as your own counsel. You opened the door. Even if it is a little crack, it is big enough for the adverse party to get into, and we are walking into it and directing you to answer the question.

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment, which protects me against testifying against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. All right, Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rossen, we displayed to you just a moment ago a postcard exhibit emanating from your theater, and I have several

more. I will group them together here and then I will ask you if you would be good enough to accommodate the committee by verifying their authenticity.

First is March 31, 1955, A Festival of Polish Motion Pictures, at the Cinema Annex Theater, 3210 West Madison, Chicago.

The next is They Sing, They Dance; The Earth Our Planet; and The Last Stop, the celebrated Polish film classic.

The next is a film advertised by the Cinema Annex, "Scoop, 1 week only, beginning Friday, February 4 (1955), actual camera report of the recent visit of a British cultural delegation to Moscow, We Visit Moscow." On the same program—you will have to help me on these names, too—Chabukiani * * * Lepeshinskaya; Ulanova, dance "Cinderella." Then there is the Latest Newsreel, U. S. S. R., and Children in the U. S. S. R.; also features the "First all-color feature from Prague, Czechoslovakia. It was 2 years in the making."

The next document, "It is the sensational color documentary, A Visit to India, a full length feature on the visit of B. & K. to India last November." I assume "B. & K." means Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, last November.

Please look at these advertisements, leaflets from your theater, the Cinema Annex, and see if you will be good enough to verify their authenticity for this committee.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

(Documents marked "Rossen Exhibits No. 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I consider this question to be an effort to impose a censorship on movies, which is similar to efforts in other—

Mr. SCHERER. I told you you can go and show those tomorrow and the Constitution of the United States—

Mr. ROSSEN. And the movie industry has enough trouble with censorship right today, it so happens right here in the city of Chicago. Therefore, I feel I am protecting not only my own interest but the interest of the movie industry as a whole, and I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sure the great movie industry in this country does not solicit the help of a Communist functionary to protect its interests.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you a photostatic copy of an article from the Communist Daily Worker of New York of Friday, July 26, 1940, captioned "Jobless Picket State Capitol in Missouri," demanding more relief. According to this article:

John Rossen, chairman of the Workers Alliance of St. Louis shouted: "The crisis of hungry babies will be on your conscience when you're campaigning unless you stay in session and vote adequate relief."

The speaker—

of the Missouri Legislature—

first threatened to personally eject Rossen, but then assigned a sergeant-at-arms to do it.

Look at that article in the Communist Daily Worker of Friday, July 26, 1940, and tell us whether or not that is a true and accurate account of the facts.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Does that article refresh your recollection?

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Rossen Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rossen, I want to ask you a question now about a matter that doesn't pertain even remotely to the press or journalism or motion pictures or theater or anything of that kind. It is about your aspirations for public service. It is an article appearing here in the Communist Sunday Worker, New York, March 2, 1941, with your photograph, "Jack Rossen, Lincoln Brigade veteran and candidate for mayor."

Do you recall your political aspirations as accounted there in the Communist Sunday Worker?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Rossen Exhibit No. 9," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rossen, we have already displayed to you exhibits here identifying you as the executive director of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Now, I want to display to you an advertisement appearing in a student publication of the University of Chicago, January 6, 1956. It is a publication called The Chicago Maroon. In this publication of the University of Chicago we see this advertisement from the organization in which you have been identified as executive director. This advertisement is entitled "Indian Students" and reads as follows:

Indian students: Just received from U. S. S. R.: Photo album of Jawaharlal Nehru in the Soviet Union—text in English and Russian. \$2.00.

Album of paintings of India by Russian artists. \$3.50.

Full texts of speeches by Indian and Soviet Leaders during Bulganin's tour of India.

All students doing research on or interested in the Soviet Union are invited to use our expanded offices and library. Open Monday thru Saturday, 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. Suite 403, 189 W. Madison.

And two phone numbers are given: "Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

We would like to have you tell us while you are under oath about these students, if any, from the Chicago University, who were wooed into this net of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship to use the offices and the library, and also whether or not, when you placed that ad in the Chicago Maroon, the University of Chicago student paper, you made known to them you were a Communist agent.

Mr. ROSSEN. I would like to have the question read back to me, please.

Mr. ARENS. Read the question.

(Record read by the reporter.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I consider the question too long and too complex, and I would like to have it broken up.

Mr. ARENS. We will break it up and be glad to accommodate you.

First of all, did you place the ad in the University of Chicago student paper?

Mr. ROSEN. I decline to answer on the basis that this is an attempt to interfere with freedom of the press, and I decline to answer on the basis of the first amendment and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Can you help this committee and the Government who are trying to develop facts to protect this great Nation, by telling us whether any of the students of the Chicago University did respond to the ad and did come to the library of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. ROSSEN. I consider this an outrageous invasion of the rights of academic freedom, and I therefore decline to answer the question, as it is the right of the students to inquire into whatever matters they want. Therefore, I decline to answer the question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Can you answer the third part of the question? Now that we have broken it up, I thought you might respond. When you placed that ad in the University of Chicago paper did you make known to the students there that you were a member of the conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States—undermine this great Republic under whose flag you have protection?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Rossen Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Rossen, where were you born?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to where he was born.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct you to answer. It is basic, and you and your counsel know it is. Now, please, answer.

Mr. SCHERER. How can it possibly incriminate anyone to say where he was born?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the ground that it is not relevant or material.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a citizen of the United States? That is relevant to the hearing.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. Yes. I was born in St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you traveled abroad?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever been to Russia?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever made application for a passport?

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever received any compensation directly or indirectly from the Communist Party or the Russian Government?

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever had any contacts of any kind with the Russian secret police operating in this country?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I think you are properly invoking the fifth amendment when you answer thusly to that question.

I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you, Mr. Jones, pass this to the witness?

Witness, this pamphlet circulated within the last several days here, entitled "Your Right," circulated by the Chicago Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, I believe—is that the name of it, Counsel? You have it in your hand.

Mr. STEINBERG. Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, if the committee please.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you seen that before, Mr. Rossen?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSSEN. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. DOYLE. I notice—and I call your attention to the last page thereof—as long as you are familiar with it you won't have to work hard to find what I refer to—the last page, item 3:

Write our Congressman and urge abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Chicago area Congressmen are:

I call your attention to that because that lists there by name and district the name of every Congressman or Congresswoman from the Chicago area of both parties, Democrats and Republicans. Mr. Scherer is a member of one of the major parties, and I am a member of the other major political party. We are not members of the same political party.

But yesterday another identified Communist, Mrs. DeSchaaf, here on the witness stand, identified an article by her which she had printed in the foreign language newspaper—I think it was June of 1951, as I recall—in which she writes of "so-called representatives of democracy."

I consider her testimony through that news article to be a slur on every Chicago Congressman of both parties that they are merely "so-called representatives of democracy." That is the intent that I get out of this sheet.

Mr. SCHERER. That is fine, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I want you as a Communist Party leader to know that I, as a California Congressman, regard this sheet here in connection with your testimony, and that of others, as a deliberate slur on every Congressman from the State of Illinois, to say nothing of the slur on democracy. I think you folks ought to be ashamed of yourselves.

Naturally, when I get back to Washington tonight or tomorrow, your Illinois Congressmen in both parties will be made aware of this kind of a malicious slur against them.

Is this witness excused, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to read a short statement, please.

This 2-day hearing of this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives is concluded with a few remarks at the close of hearings, as is customary.

As one result of these Chicago hearings, we now have certain information which we will find especially valuable, even though accumulative, when it is added to similar facts which we have ascertained in several other of our largest metropolitan areas, as to the extent, character, and methods used by identified Communists, who are either in control, management, or employ of foreign-language newspapers in these heavily populated regions, to influence and prejudice American citizens of foreign birth or ancestry and to encourage them to join up with the Communist Party in its subversive propaganda activities to destroy our constitutional form of government.

In this connection, I wish to make it perfectly clear, not only this committee but I am sure all of Congress regards the great, great, great majority of foreign-born citizens, and children of foreign-born parents, as intensely loyal and patriotic. It is a very, very small minority who have been or can be persuaded to get into the Communist conspiracy.

But the shocking extent to which this subversive attack dares go, even in time of our national emergency when we were at war to protect these American freedoms, is clearly illustrated by the unpatriotic and reprehensible means used by editor Nellie DeSchaaf of the English section of the foreign-language paper Vilnis, when she described in her published and widely distributed column to her readers, FBI agents as "bloodhounds." Again, when she and the owners and management of that same foreign-language paper, identified as Communists, reprinted without making any effort to ascertain the truth or falsity thereof, during the Korean war a column printed in another Communist-controlled paper supporting the North Korean Communist Army, amongst other dastardly falsehoods, charged the American military with "putting American war prisoners to death with live steam" and with manipulating 18 torture rooms.

As my distinguished committee colleague, Mr. Scherer, said at the time this evidence of treacherous Communist Party propaganda through this foreign-language paper was put into the record of this hearing on yesterday, it amounted to giving aid and comfort to the enemy by that paper, by their writers, by their management, and by their control.

But we of the committee are frequently exposing such rotten, unpatriotic, subversive propaganda by Communists through Communist-controlled channels, including Communist fronts and the radio, and through pictures, too, exhibited by this last witness.

These and similar hearings by this committee, and by a corresponding committee in the United States Senate, clearly add to the information and factual data necessary to the United States Congress to legislate adequately and fairly, always having in mind the constitutional guarantees and rights of every American citizen.

The Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Immunity Act, together with many portions of other basic security legislation, all designed to protect our national security against sub-

versive propaganda and activities, and protect our democratic way of life and our constitutional representative government, have been added to our legislative strength and resources, to a large degree, by these public hearings throughout our Nation. The resulting tie-in between hearings in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, New Orleans, Detroit, Boston, Washington, Seattle, have all materially aided the legislative purpose of this and other similar congressional committees toward legislative enactment of laws on an intelligent and informed basis.

Another significant point of evidence went into the record yesterday when the article of June 1951, printed in Vilnis, and again admittedly written by "Housemother" Nellie DeSchaaf, charged Members of Congress from Chicago and elsewhere with being "so-called representatives of democracy." This is the Communist Party line, emanating from the control of the Communist Party in the United States by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, designed to deliberately mislead the foreign born in the United States against our form of representative government.

In view of the oft-repeated charge made yesterday, especially by the witnesses who claimed the first, as well as the fifth amendment privilege, that this committee hearing was interfering with the freedom of the press—although it should appear to all as crystal clear that we have not done so—I restate the substance of what I announced yesterday in my opening remarks: to wit, that the primary purpose of this inquiry was to the extent to which the foreign-language press in the Chicago area is either dominated or infiltrated by Communists. This primary purpose, not being the exclusive purpose, of course, we have followed.

Needless to say, all of the beneficial results of such hearings do not appear through the facts gained or lack of facts gained from an adverse witness on the witness stand. It should be stated that our expert committee investigators, were ably assisted by the Chicago Police Department for a considerable period of time before this hearing began. They manifestly learned much that we have not yet produced in public. They learned much that could not be best produced in oral testimony at this time.

The freedom of the press which our avowed Communist citizens seek to obtain is the freedom to control the press for the Communist subversive propaganda machine. The Communist-controlled press in our Nation owes it allegiance to the same fettered control of the press which Soviet communism exercises over the Soviet press. These same Communist-controlled foreign-language papers are allowed, under our American freedom, to go right along and print their papers and propagandize falsely and maliciously against our form of government; but, at least, their foreign ideology-controlled press policy is being exposed more and more to daylight and information.

No American-controlled newspaper published in Soviet Russia, falsely attacking the Soviet system of government, as does the Communist-controlled press in the United States, would be continued even to the next edition.

Now, one word about the turn aboutface, represented by the recent convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in New York, to have been made in which they claimed freedom of control and dictation

from any foreign or international Communist control. If they were in good faith to be released from international control, why was the principal paper read before that Communist convention in our own country in February and why did that come from the French Communist Duclos, the same man who wrote the Duclos letter of 1945 to the American Communist Party at the time Earl Browder was deposed?

The Communist Party in the United States is constantly developing new techniques, ever-changing masquerades and facades, behind which to perform its conspiratorial work. It is because of this fact that our work on the House Committee on Un-American Activities must be relentless and continuous, in order that we may detect the new techniques and devices of the conspiracy, and, through this to devise legislative weapons with which to protect American freedom.

Our task is becoming increasingly more difficult because every year the Communist conspiracy, overseas and here, goes deeper and deeper underground. Long ago the Communist Party divested itself of the ideological dupes and the opportunists. Today the Communist Party, although numerically smaller than in previous years, constitutes a greater menace than ever before. The membership in this conspiracy in our country consists almost exclusively of trained hard-core Communist agents of the Kremlin who are the equivalent of the foreign agents on American soil.

In the face of this situation the American people must be more vigilant than ever and must be more informed than ever. They must realize that the Communist operation in this country is only part of a worldwide conspiracy in a global war—in which our American way of life is pitted against the Communist way of life—in which the forces of freedom are in constant battle with international communism. In that battle, the price is, first, the minds of men; second, continents; and third, the world itself. It is a battle which the free world cannot afford to lose, and we in Congress are proud and pleased to be in the front rank of that battle to protect our American freedoms.

In closing, I want to express the appreciation of this committee and of the United States Congress to the many people who have cooperated with the subcommittee during our stay here in Chicago. Our thanks go to the United States marshal and his deputies, to the Chicago Police Department, both before and during these hearings; to the distinguished United States district judge who assigned us the privilege of using this courtroom in this building, to the custodian of this building and all his associates, to the representatives of the press, the free press, the radio, the television, as well as to many others who cooperated with this subcommittee and its staff in the preparation and conduct of these hearings.

My last word is that we also much appreciate the very evident cooperation of all the people in this room yesterday and today in making it easy for this committee to perform our work because there was no disturbance of any kind. On behalf of the United States Congress, I am honored to say, thank you.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a. m., Wednesday, March 27, 1957, the subcommittee recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

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